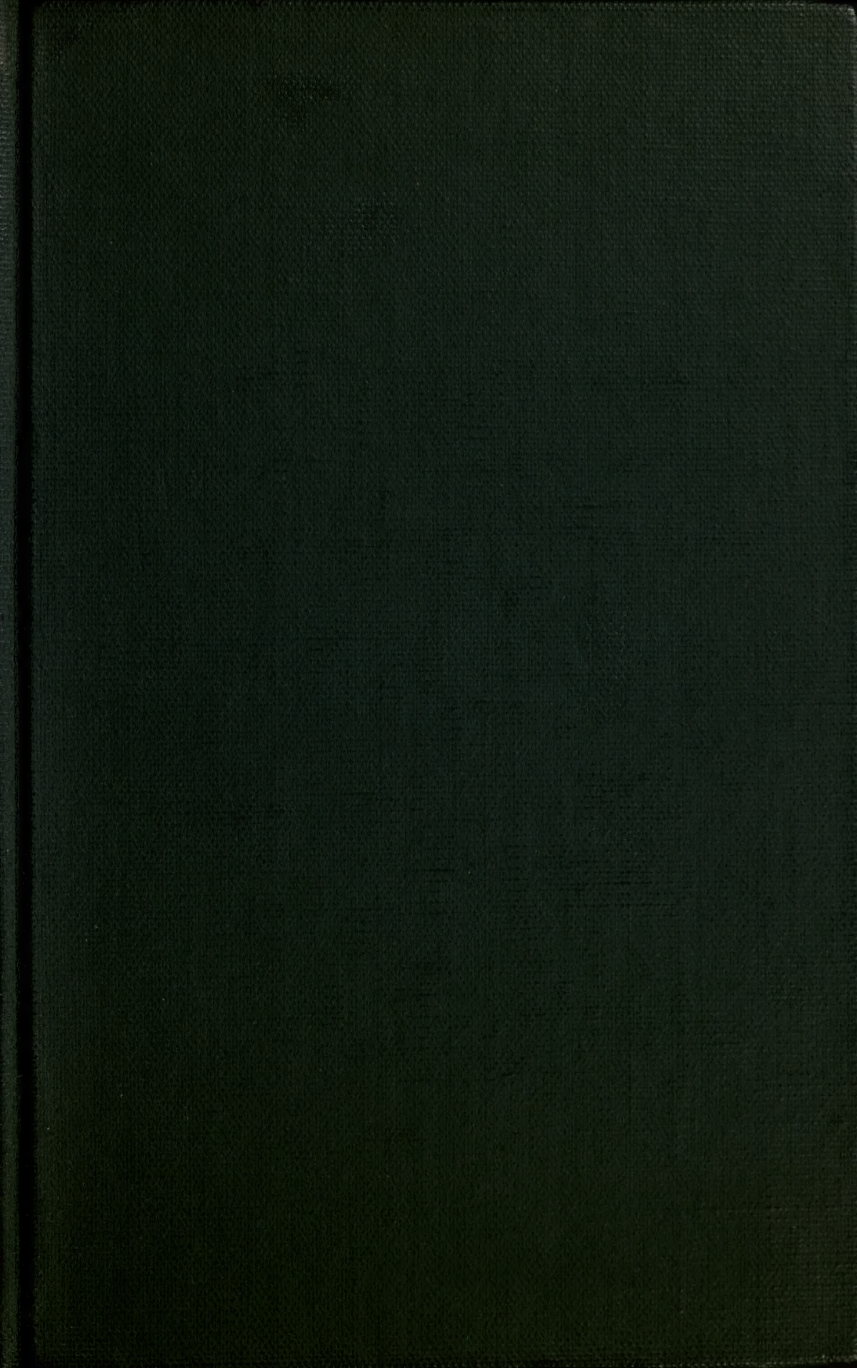
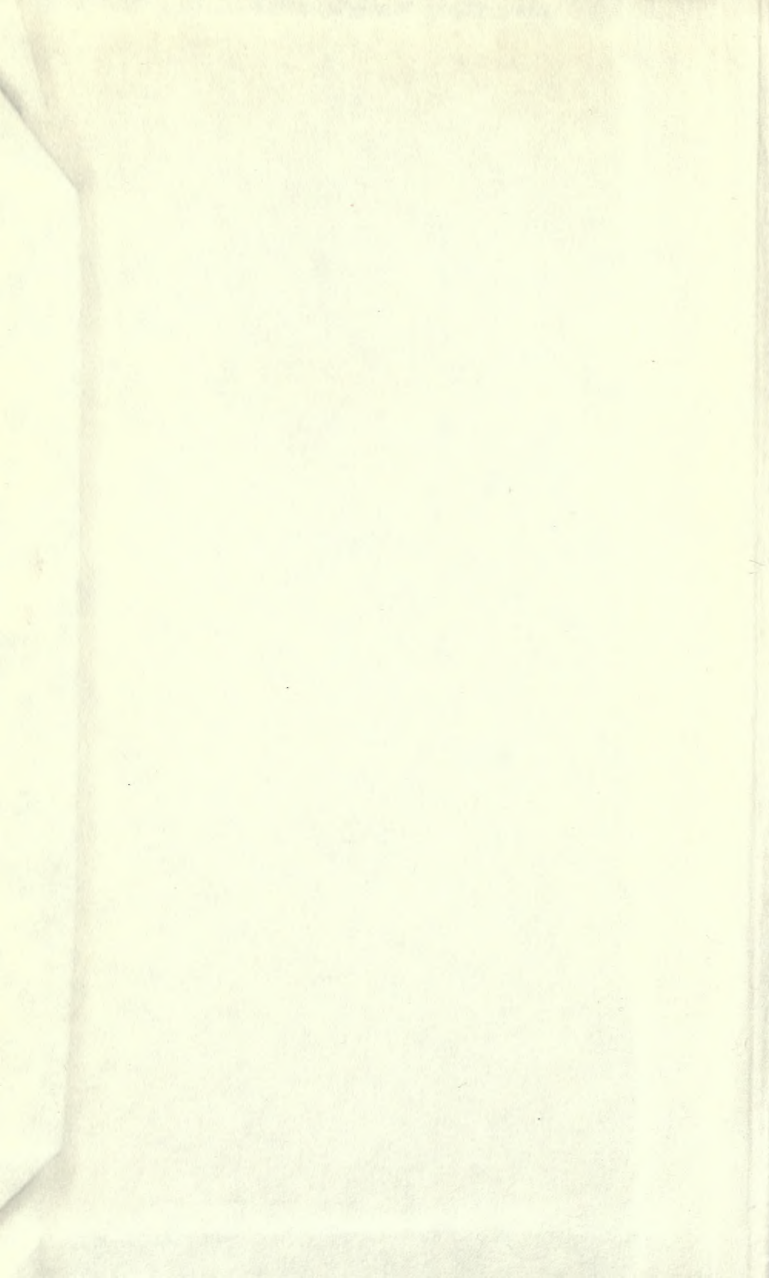


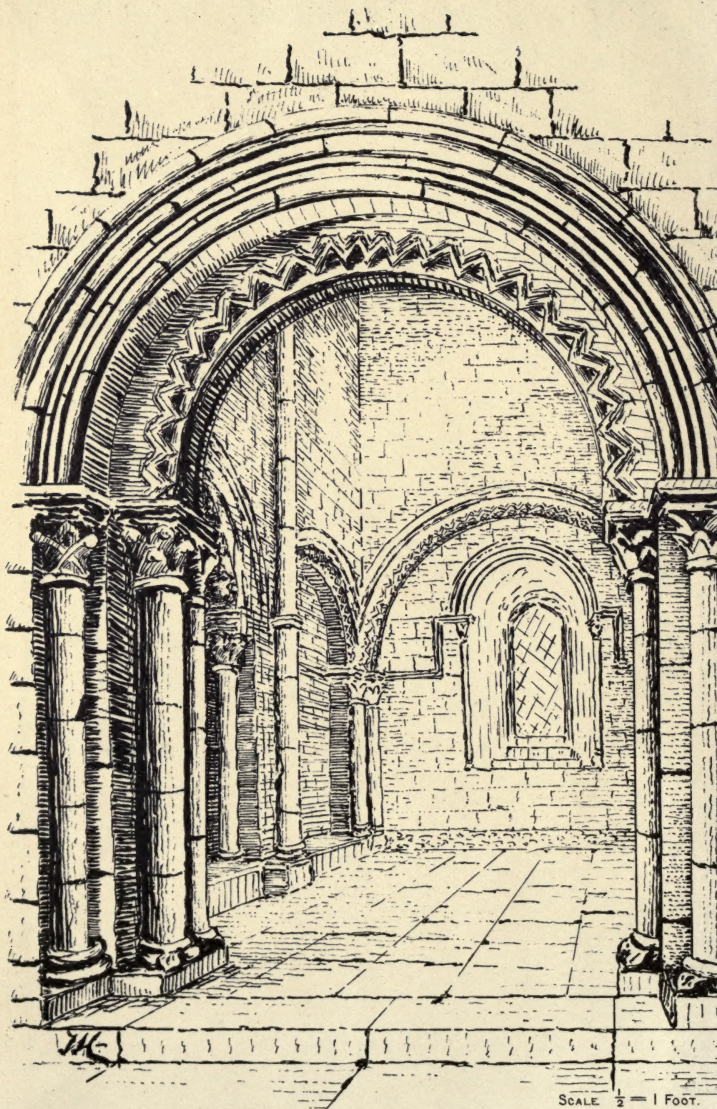






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KING JOHN'S CHAPEL DOVER CASTLE.

The Rev^d T. S. Curteis, del^t.



THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

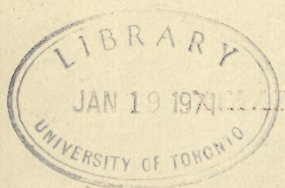
VOL. XXXIX.

1883

London :

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

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PREFACE.

THE THIRTY-NINTH VOLUME OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION contains the greater number of the principal Papers read before that body at the Congress held under the presidency of His Grace the Duke of Somerset, K.G., at Plymouth in the summer of 1882, and during recent meetings in London. The book will be found to contain, as heretofore, trustworthy notices, by writers of weight and authority, upon a variety of archæological and antiquarian matters which have risen to a prominent position as subjects of consideration and discussion during the meetings of the Association. From the so-called prehistoric periods, of which, however, we surely have now sufficient data and records to enable us to reconstruct, in some measure at least, the manners and customs, and the social, if not the political history of those remote ages, down to the close of the last century, a considerable amount of light has been thrown upon both British and foreign antiquity by those whose labours have fittingly found a place in the present volume.

Our members and our readers have been enabled, by the thoughtfulness of some, to handle the *ipsissima saxa* of palæolithic and neolithic man, his beads, his spinning

whorls, his food-vessels, his flint knives, his weapons, and above all his sacred stone circles. Of the Romans we have, by the care of others, inspected and explored important villas adorned with tessellated pavements and decorated walls; their pottery, their metal-work, their military diplomas, and the multitudinous remains which the conqueror has left upon our subject soil.

The vestiges of the Celtic races have been examined in their elegant stone crosses and fine art metal-work; the intelligence of the Saxons in their literary remains, as at Worcester and Exeter,—their military arts and social refinement, as at Stowting and Taplow; and, to pass rapidly onward, there is hardly a single ramification of the feeling and *cultus* of the English middle ages which has not been illustrated in one way or another, and more or less directly, in the pages which are now laid before the reader in hope that he may read them aright, and so gather instruction and enlightenment from them.

W. DE G. B.

31 Dec. 1883.

British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions, of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for

the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Treasurer, THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., Hill Side House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1 : 1 each to Associates; £1 : 11 : 6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1 : 11 : 6; to the Associates, £1 : 1.

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Subscribers' names received by the Treasurer.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper.*)

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1882-83 are as follow:—1882, Nov. 15, Dec. 6. 1883, January 3, 17; Feb. 7, 21; March 7, 21; April 4, 18; May 2 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 P.M.), 16; June 6.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.¹

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,²—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.
2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council ; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance fee is remitted), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities ; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.
4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen³ Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence ; who, with eighteen⁴ other Associates, one of whom shall be the Honorary Curator, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the first Wednesday in May⁵ in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer ; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

¹ The rules, as settled in March 1846, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced, and indicated by notes.

² Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

³ Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, in 1864 to ten, and in 1875 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

⁴ Formerly seventeen, but altered in 1875 to the present number.

⁵ In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852 till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the previous Annual Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days¹ on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,² for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

¹ In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

² At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY . . . }	THE LORD A. D. CONYNTHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845 WINCHESTER . . . }	
1846 GLOUCESTER . . . }	
1847 WARWICK . . . }	
1848 WORCESTER . . . }	
1849 CHESTER . . . }	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	
1851 DERBY . . .	
1852 NEWARK . . .	
1853 ROCHESTER . . . }	
1854 CHEPSTOW . . . }	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . . . }	
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH }	
1857 NORWICH . . .	
1858 SALISBURY . . .	
1859 NEWBURY . . .	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1860 SHREWSBURY . . .	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1861 EXETER . . .	
1862 LEICESTER . . .	
1863 LEEDS . . .	
1864 IPSWICH . . .	
1865 DURHAM . . .	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1866 HASTINGS . . .	
1867 LUDLOW . . .	
1868 CIRENCESTER . . .	
1869 ST. ALBAN'S . . .	
1870 HEREFORD . . .	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1871 WEYMOUTH . . .	
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON . . .	
1873 SHEFFIELD . . .	
1874 BRISTOL . . .	
1875 EVESHAM . . .	THE MARQUIS OF AILESBUURY
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE	
1877 LLANGOLLEN . . .	
1878 WISBECH . . .	
1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH	
1880 DEVIZES . . .	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1881 GREAT MALVERN . . .	
1882 PLYMOUTH . . .	

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1882-3.

President.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD; THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE VERY REV. LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER; THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.; THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, BART.; SIR W. W. WYNN, BART., M.P.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., F.S.A.

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JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
A. W. FRANKS, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
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T. MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

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REV. PREB. SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.
E. M. THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.
STEPHEN I. TUCKER, Esq., *Somerset Herald*
JOHN WALTER, Esq., M.P.

Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A., Hillside House, Palace Road,
Streatham Hill, S.W.

Honorary Secretaries.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A., British Museum, W.C.
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A., 19 Montague Place, Russell Square, W.C.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A., Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.

Draughtsman.

WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, Esq., F.L.S.

Palæographer.

E. M. THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.

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WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq.
R. A. DOUGLAS-LITHGOW, Esq., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.R.S.L.

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F.S.A.
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W. MYERS, Esq., F.S.A.
GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.
J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.
REV. ALEXANDER TAYLOR, M.A.
J. WHITMORE, Esq.

Auditors.

A. CHASEMORE, Esq.

GEO. LAMBERT, Esq., F.S.A.

British Archaeological Association.

LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

1883.

*The past-Presidents marked * are permanent Vice-Presidents.*

The letter L. denotes Life-Members.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.,
PRESIDENT.

Date of Election.

- 1865 ARMSTRONG, SIR WILLIAM, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- 1876 Ace, Rev. D., D.D., Laughton Rectory, near Gainsborough
- 1854 Adams, George G., Esq., F.S.A., 126 Sloane Street, S.W.
- 1881 Adams, Rev. W. J., D.C.L., 17 Birchington Road, Kilburn
- L. 1850 Ade, George, Esq., 161 Westbourne Terrace, W.
- 1857 Adlam, Wm., Esq., F.S.A., The Manor House, Chew Magna, Bristol
- L. 1871 Aldam, William, Esq., Frickley Hall, Doncaster
- L. 1851 Alger, John, Esq.
- 1878 Allen, J. Romilly, Esq., A.I.C.E., 5 Albert Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
- L. 1857 Allen, W. E., Esq.
- L. 1874 Ames, R., Esq., M.A., 2 Albany Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
- L. 1857 Amherst, W. A. T., Esq., M.P., Didlington Park, Brandon, Norfolk
- 1869 Andrews, Charles, Esq., Farnham, Surrey
- 1877 Ashby, Thomas, Esq., Staines, Middlesex
- 1876 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

AT THE

PLYMOUTH CONGRESS.

BY SIR JAMES A. PICTON, F.S.A.

IT may naturally appear presumptuous for a comparatively unknown individual like myself to occupy the place of our President, a nobleman, not more distinguished by his high rank than for his scholarship and his intellectual qualifications; but owing to an unfortunate attack of illness, he has been compelled to relinquish his intention of addressing you on the present occasion, and I have been requested, at very short notice, to supply his place. I must, therefore, throw myself on your kindness and forbearance in regard to any shortcomings in the following remarks which I have to offer.

The present age is distinguished by a tendency towards combination and union of effort in every department of human activity, whether commercial, literary, scientific, or ecclesiastical. In commerce, limited liability companies are the order of the day. Science holds its periodical symposia in the great centres of our population, where observations are compared, and the most recent theories brought to the test of investigation and argument; and ecclesiastical affairs excite an interest never before witnessed, and create discussions not always of the most harmonious character.

Archæology has partaken of the same impulse, and has not been backward in the career of progress. The venerable parent Society of Antiquaries still pursues its

quiet, useful course, undisturbed by the more excursive character of its offspring. The two Metropolitan societies, the Association and the Institute, have for many years carried on a friendly rivalry in the investigation of our national antiquities, for which the increased facilities of travel in these modern days offer unexampled opportunities. In addition to these, there is not a county or a considerable town in the kingdom which has not its local society devoted to the same object.

It might be thought, from the number of these agencies at work, and the amount of interest taken in the study, that the subject had become pretty nearly exhausted, and that little room was left for further investigation; but it is not so. The inquiry extends over a vast field, the objects are very numerous, and many of them, perhaps the most interesting, are either difficult of access, or not obvious, and require to be brought under notice by skilled experts, who have made them a lifelong study. It may be asked, what is there in the investigation of ancient buildings, many of them in a state of hopeless ruin, or in heaps of rough stones, apparently meaningless, or in grass-grown mounds of earth now furrowed by the plough, to excite such an amount of fervour and enthusiasm? Our interests are all in the present and future—

“Act, act in the living present;
Let the dead past bury its dead.”

This would indeed be a short-sighted and frigid philosophy, and would unsettle some of the noblest associations and impulses of which the human mind is capable. The present is only secure when it is well anchored in the past. The continuity of our institutions is the one great cause of their stability. The why and the wherefore of the present can only be ascertained by reference to the past. The motives, the feelings, the principles, and the prejudices of our own times are inherited from our fathers, and we, in turn, will have to hand them down, improved and elevated, let us hope, to our successors. The law of mental association is a very important factor in our habits of thought, and dictates a large portion of our ordinary course of life. If these associations connect us with what is noble and elevating

in the past, they are surely worth entertaining and cherishing. The words of Dr. Johnson, when musing amidst the ruins of Iona, have often been quoted, but have lost none of their force during the century which has since elapsed. He says:—"To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. . . . That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the Plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."

We have in the history of England a glorious inheritance. It is a wonderful story of development and progress—from darkness to light, from slavery to freedom, from ignorance to knowledge, from short-sighted folly to long-sighted wisdom—until it has become

"A land of settled government,
A land of just and old renown,
Where freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent."

We are justly proud of our English institutions, with their roots firmly fixed in the past, and their vigorous branches stretching forward into the unknown future; but history does not consist entirely of written documents, however valuable their contents may be. The surface of our country is studded with historical records written in stone, and brick, and earthworks, which bridge over the period between the ages before the dawn of written history, and connect them, without a break, with the living present. Written history without these, however eloquent, would be comparatively tame, spiritless, and uninteresting. Look, for a moment, at a specimen or two. What written history speaks more graphically, or spans more completely, the whole course of British events than the Tower of London, whether its origin be British, Roman, Saxon, or Norman? What reality it gives to the varied events which have taken place within its walls! How, in passing along its gloomy corridors, we seem to feel the presence of the illustrious

departed. The memories of Sir Thomas More, Queen Anne Boleyn, Lady Jane Grey, Raleigh, Sidney, Russell, and a host of other worthies seem to hover in the air, and bring to our senses memories of the past which no merely written documents could do. Or, take Westminster Hall, with its feasts and coronations, and State trials of five hundred years; or the Abbey, with its stately architecture and its unparalleled series of national monuments. Imagine these swept away, and from whence could the loss be supplied? I mention these as being metropolitan and well-known, but there are thousands of objects all over our country which have special associations with the past, or, at all events, form links in the chain which binds the remotest ages with the present.

Going further back, the Roman remains—additional specimens of which are from time to time disinterred—give evidence, supplementary to written history, which on this subject is very sparse, of a degree of cultivation, refinement, and general prosperity, which must have prevailed during several centuries, but of which no records are extant. The mining operations of the Romans, of which such extensive *débris* remain, the splendid roads which traversed the country in all directions, many of which are still in use; the great wall and stations of Hadrian, all manifest the application of engineering skill and capital, which could only have existed under a settled and wisely administered Government.

Further back still, we come to the twilight of English history, which is ultimately lost in darkness. Here written evidence fails us, but we are not without a clue to guide us through the labyrinth to certain definite conclusions. The cromlechs, the stone circles, the dolmens, the barrows, the grave mounds, the pit dwellings, the primitive fortifications supply in themselves no certain indications of the date of their construction, but they afford very strong evidence of the state of society, the manners and habits of those who erected them.

Still beyond, we are introduced into the habitations of the cave-dwellers, where man struggled for supremacy with the cave lion and the bear, and used the primitive weapons of bone and flint for the capture of the fish and deer on which he subsisted.

Again we go back, until we reach the drift period, where we have the earliest intimation of human life in its incipient stage of feeble progression. Now, reasoning from analogy and comparison, we are able to draw certain conclusions from what we here find, and present with tolerable accuracy a picture of the forefathers of our race in their earliest development. These earlier stages belong more properly to what is called Paleontology, but it is difficult to draw the line where Archæology ends and Paleontology begins. As investigation goes forward, the two will, of necessity, blend together and form a single department of inquiry. I think a very cursory glance will show that there is ample scope and verge enough for a union of effort devoted to one common end, the examination and elucidation of our relics of antiquity of all ages and of every description. This is the origin and the *raison d'être* of the existence of the British Archæological Association; and the fruits of its labours are to be found in the thirty-eight volumes of its transactions. I have given the reasons for its existence and indicated the scope of its inquiries.

I wish now to say a few words on the objects it has in view and the means of carrying them out. Its main purpose is to call attention to the precious relics of antiquity which remain amongst us, to facilitate their inspection and examination, to inquire into and illustrate their history where practicable, or otherwise to deduce from their own internal evidence the conclusions to which they lead; to encourage an intelligent study of our antiquities and of the art and science displayed in their construction; to place on record the results of the annual meetings and visits in the various localities; and last, but not least, to engage public sympathy in the guardianship and preservation from injury of these precious remains. Here is a wide field in which all who take an interest in the objects of the Association may find a sphere of usefulness. I will just allude to the last—the preservation from injury, or, it may be, effacement. Many valuable objects, especially of the prehistoric character, have been, and still are, consigned to destruction through simple ignorance of their value. I will give one instance in which interference of the kind

I have mentioned proved successful. One of the finest Danish monuments in the kingdom, the Great Stone of Thor, at Thurstanton, in Cheshire, was recently doomed to destruction, the monument to be destroyed and the land enclosed and built over. Public attention was called to the subject by a member of this Association, with the ultimate result that the stone has been preserved, and a reserve of forty-five acres round it has been dedicated to the public as a recreation ground. Much may be done by keeping the public alive to the importance of preserving our national monuments. There is, on the whole, a desire to do what is right and proper in the matter. All that is wanted is, to enlighten the public mind, and to point out in what the interest consists. This leads to another vexed question, which has raised considerable discussion, not unfrequently conducted with unnecessary warmth and even violence. I mean the so-called restoration of our ancient buildings, especially churches.

The revival of mediæval architecture within the last fifty years, concurrently with what is called the Oxford ecclesiastical movement, drew attention, especially amongst the clergy, to the neglected and dilapidated state of our churches in some instances, and in others to their degradation and disfigurement by the interpolation of galleries, box pews, and rebuildings in an altogether unworthy style. Considerable zeal was manifested in improving this state of things by removing the excrescences, and endeavouring to restore the buildings to their original condition. Zeal, however, is not always accompanied by sufficient knowledge and wisdom; and hence it has too frequently happened that the restoration has resulted in an error of the opposite kind, and, in the attempt to reproduce a specimen of pure mediæval architecture, all the flavour of antiquity has been done away, and the residuum has become a raw, cold, staring building, reminding us rather of the modern contractor, than of the hoary freemason of old. Sentiment has much to do with our appreciation of antiquity. We like to feel that these are the very chisel strokes of the ancient mason; that these are the *ipsissima saxa* which he laid. Here is the mason's mark cut with his own hand. There are

the tiles worn into depressions by the pacing of the priest to and from the altar. Father Time comes with gentle hand, and tints the surface with weather stains, and here and there chips off a corner or rounds an angle, but he imparts a mellowness and flavour which give a wonderful charm, and carry us back through the distant ages, when we can realise in imagination the original state of the work. Then comes the half-informed restorer, clergyman probably, fresh from the Ecclesiological Society, full of his notions about parvises, and rood lofts, and credence tables, and sedilia. Down go the pews and galleries, which none will regret. New tracery is put in the windows; the walls are scraped and chiselled till the ancient surface is all gone. Minton's tiles are laid down in the chancel, and a wonderfully sculptured reredos is placed above the altar-table. He contemplates his work of destruction with smiling complacency, while the grieved antiquary can but sigh like the Jews, when they saw the second temple and compared it with the first. Matters of this kind have been bad enough in England, but they have been still worse on the continent. It is pitiable to see the fine old Romanesque Churches in Cologne, fraught with the hoary antiquity of a thousand years, mellowed and tinted by time, now scraped, chiselled, and pointed, up to such a degree that they look as if the builder had just received a certificate for the payment of his last instalment.

Much mischief has been done, but there are still many fine buildings which have hitherto escaped the ravages of the restorer. It is to be hoped that all who have a true reverence for antiquity will lend their aid to prevent all needless desecration. The true principle of restoration is this:—Where an unsightly excrescence has been introduced, remove it. Where a stone is decayed, replace it. Where the walls are covered with whitewash, clean them down. If tracery is broken, match it with new of similar character, but spare the antique surface. Do not touch the evidence which time has recorded of the days gone by. I say nothing of buildings in ruins, or in danger, which, of course, must be re-built in the style best suited to the purpose.

Not the least pleasing feature in these annual gather-

ings is the social intercourse thus promoted and encouraged. The association and mingling of like-minded persons, having a pursuit in common, is always agreeable; but this is greatly enhanced when the object in view is one which recommends itself by its connection with our historical studies, our patriotic feelings, our love of Nature, our pursuit of knowledge. We here renew our friendships, compare notes, report progress; and if in this ever-changing scene some are removed, others succeed to fill their places, and thus the flame is kept alive by the torch being handed on from generation to generation.

Another agreeable circumstance is the presence of the fair sex, who add a charm and give a zest to our proceedings; and whose intelligent appreciation of the value of our antiquities may lend important aid towards their preservation.

The history of the proceedings of this Association, as exhibited in its published volumes, is fraught with interest. My connection with it is not of very long standing; but I recall with pleasure those meetings which I have been privileged to attend. Last year we visited Worcestershire, under the Presidency of the Very Rev. Lord Alwyne Compton, D.D., who gave us a most hospitable reception, and who conducted us, with natural pride, over the grand cathedral which now dominates over the Severn in all its pristine magnificence. Unfortunately, the heavens did not smile upon us in the manner to which we have been accustomed, and many of our excursions resembled explorations after the deluge. However, mutual sympathy and forbearance kept us alive, and a very enjoyable week was spent in spite of the weather. One great advantage and source of enjoyment in these annual meetings is, the facilities which are offered for visiting places not usually open to the public, and the discovery of others little known or difficult of access; and it must be said that almost universally the utmost courtesy is shown and every opportunity given for the explorations of the visitors. Honourable mention especially is due to the clergy for the intelligent information furnished respecting their churches, and to their families for the kindness with which we have been uniformly welcomed.

In 1880, we made Devizes our head-quarters, and explored the wonderful archæological remains of Wiltshire under the auspices of Earl Nelson, of whom it is only bare justice to say that he was one of the best presidents that ever conducted the business of the Association.

In 1879, Yarmouth, under the Presidency of Lord Waveney, was our centre, whence we radiated in all directions amongst scenes of the highest archæological interest. Every county has its own peculiarities and special objects of attraction. Whilst Wiltshire is peculiarly rich in pre-historic antiquities, such as Stonehenge, Avebury, etc., Norfolk and Suffolk stand pre-eminent for their beautiful and grand mediæval churches, which throw considerable light on some historical questions.

In 1878 the Fen country was the scene of our operations, Wisbeach being the centre, and the Earl of Hardwicke our President. Here the scenery and the associations were of an entirely different character. The grand embankments of the Romans, and the mediæval history of the small seaports carried back our inquiries into several successive phases of our national life. I need not expatiate on these. Are they not written in the book of the chronicles of our Association? Farther back than these I cannot personally go. The previous meetings are to me pre-historic and mythical, but

“Vixère fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi.”

I have no doubt the silver trumpet of our worthy secretary sounded in tones quite as inspiring, and that the meetings were quite as genial and interesting, as those with which I have had the honour of being connected. And now, before I close, let me say a few words in anticipation of the events of the coming week. We have a varied programme before us, calculated to excite high expectations. As in a feast of another kind, there can be no harm in conning the *menu* before the banquet is served. The West of England is not excelled in interest by any other quarter of the United Kingdom. It was for long the battle ground between the retiring Celts and the advancing Saxons, and its subsequent history is connected with many striking and important events. Devonshire ranks second in size of the counties of England, and

yields to none in fruitfulness and beauty. Its undulating surface, its deep combes and winding valleys, its rural lanes, fringed with luxuriant hedges glowing with the richest colours, present peculiar features unequalled of their kind elsewhere. The tribe of the Damnonii, in whose occupation we find it in the earliest notices in history, were probably allied to the Belgae, who were located to the eastward. They were probably not the aboriginal inhabitants, whose relics are found in the caves, but an immigration from the opposite coast of Gaul. We trace their memory to a limited extent in the names of most of the rivers—the Avon, the Exe, the Teign, the Taw, the Tamar, the Plym, etc.,—and in a few place-names, as Clovelly, Ilfracombe, and in the tors which dot the county.

It is a rather singular fact, arising out of the circumstances of the history, that east of the Tamar Celtic names are sparse and few; west of that river they predominate to a large extent. Under the Roman dominion, we know there were important stations in several parts of the county. Isca Damniorum, now Exeter, was a provincial capital from which radiated high roads in every direction. Such place-names as Ilchester, Exeter, Stratton, bear unmistakable marks of Roman occupation. The submission of the Damnonii to Roman sway, compared with the sturdy resistance of the Cornwaltras, or Cornubii, rendered the district an easy conquest for the West Saxons, under Cerdic, about the beginning of the sixth century. That the Saxon settlement was thorough and complete is evident from the almost entire prevalence of Saxon names in the towns and villages. The ninth century witnessed continual ravages of the south coast by the Danes or Northmen, but their permanent settlements were not extensive. Such names as Tot-ness, Hope-ness, Start Point, and Hoe indicate their presence.

In the subsequent history of our country the men of Devon always acted a prominent part. Some of our most distinguished naval heroes were natives of Devon, such as Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh; and Blake, though born just outside the county, was closely connected with it. The number of harbours at the mouths of the rivers along the coast of Devon

encouraged the early devotion of the inhabitants to fishing and commerce, which was a very important factor in the early history of England. The noble and almost unequalled harbour of Plymouth early marked it out as a naval station ; and since its incorporation in 1438 it has gradually grown up to its present importance as a dock and building yard for the royal navy.

We are promised what I am sure will be very interesting papers on "The Antiquity and Antiquities of Plymouth", and on "The Plymouth Municipal Records." Another paper on "Old Plymouth China" and on the county seals. On prehistoric subjects we are to have an article on "The Hurlers, Trethevy Stone, and Duloe Stone Circle"; another on "A Group of Prehistoric Remains on Dartmoor." On mediæval architecture we shall have papers on the peculiarities of the churches of Devonshire, and on Plympton Castle and churches. Connected with biography, we shall have notices of Admiral Robert Blake, and of the family seat of the Raleighs ; and on mediæval manners and customs is promised a paper on municipal life in the olden time.

What shall I say of the daily excursions by rail, and carriage, and steamer ? Should the weather prove propitious, they will be charming and delightful, exhilarating and inspiring, feasting the eyes and informing the mind ; and even should Jupiter Pluvius empty his cisterns somewhat in excess, we will endeavour to bear the infliction with equanimity and resignation. If we each endeavour to do our part by cheerfulness, good temper, and mutual assistance, always obedient to the summons of the silver trumpet, and following the directions of our leaders, we shall find that the ways of the Association are ways of pleasantness, and all its paths will be paths of peace and delight.

ON AN
 IVORY FIGURE
 IN THE
 ROYAL CHAPEL OF S. FERNANDO OF SEVILLE.

BY
 DON CLAUDIO BOUTELOU,

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 the Provincial Committee of Monuments of Seville, etc.*

(Read May 21, 1879.)

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH BY T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A.,
 And read Jan. 17, 1883.

SEVERAL precious objects of ancient times are preserved in our Cathedral; but there are some in which historical and artistic value combine to render them of more than ordinary interest. Among these, one of the foremost places is occupied by the little statue of ivory known by the name of "*La Virgen de las Batallas*" (the Virgin of Battles). It is kept in the royal chapel, close to the altar where lies the body of St. Fernando. This image, according to tradition, was the inseparable companion of the sainted King in his constant wars with the Moors, and he carried it upon the bow of his saddle.

The Byzantines were the first to carry with them to war images of the Virgin, to which they gave the name of "*Socia Belli*." This custom also obtained in Spain, where the unceasing wars against the infidel, and the religious spirit of that gigantic struggle of our forefathers to reconstruct their fatherland, caused them to adopt the Virgin and the saints as the protectors of warriors. Not content with vows, religious foundations, and various religious acts, whereby to acquire the protection of Heaven in their combats, they sought to carry with their armies miraculous images in order to solicit protection in danger. And further, some warriors carried the image of the Virgin on their saddle, to the end that they should not be parted, in the height of the combat, from the beloved object of Christian worship. We have seen one of these, which belonged to Don Eusebio Campuzano, late Dean of the Cathedral Chapter of Seville. This gentleman pointed out to us that that image was procured from

the monastery of Arlanza, a foundation of the Count of Castille, Fernan Gonzales; and that according to the unbroken traditions of the monastery, the image had belonged to the above Count, who was accustomed to carry it with him in his wars against the Moors. Such a tradition is worthy of credit, especially as the monastery was founded by Fernan Gonzales; and it is confirmed as soon as one inspects the statue, because its character and style are those which predominated in Spain in the eleventh century.

The statue is of iron, and there are decided traces of the enamel and gilding. The Virgin is represented on a seat on the sides of which have been engraved two elegant figures of angels, full length, very tall, with ample vestments and large wings. The Mary is clothed in a *talar* tunic of minute folds, a supertunic, and a cloak; with the left hand she supports the child Jesus, who is shown in the act of pronouncing a benediction. The general character of the group and the arrangement of the clothing, the figures of the angels, with ample vestments, who embellish the seat, and many other details, clearly indicate the Byzantine style; yet, nevertheless, there is an evident trace of the Latin element in the beautiful ornamentation which decorates the pavement-work of the footboard, drawn with elegance and firmness, and embellished with an enamel of azure colour. The statue of the "Virgin of Battles" is not, indeed, of so great an antiquity; but it possesses a deep historical interest, inasmuch as it once belonged to St. Fernando; and a considerable artistic value, because it signalises the presence of a new style in Spain, and the separation from Byzantine influences. It is an ivory sculpture carved with delicacy, and represents the Virgin seated upon a throne or octagonal seat, bearing on her knees the child Jesus, whom she supports with her left hand. The height of this seated figure is 43 *centim.* (=16.97 inches). Below the sill of the seat there is an empty space which communicates with the square hole which may be observed in the breast of the image, where the iron cramp went which was fixed in the bow of the saddle. Both the Virgin and the Child wear crowns of silver gilt, which, although ancient, do not appear to be the original ones. The ivory

has acquired, with the course of ages, a somewhat yellow colour ; and also the effect of time has been to produce innumerable small chinks and cracklings interlaced one with the other ; and these openings have become of a black colour, so that at first sight it would appear to be a richly veined wood rather than ivory. This image is preserved in good condition, and the only ancient part wanting is the right arm and hand, which have been restored at a later time, and are considerably inferior in execution. The artist has given to the conception of this subject a thoroughly Spanish treatment, as I will proceed to explain.

In our country the Byzantine types which for a long time prevailed, now cease to obtain, giving way to others which reflect the Christian spirit of the West ; and in this line Romanesque art first adopted it, and then the ogee style, which becomes predominant in the age of St. Fernando. The sculpture under examination corresponds with the beginning of the thirteenth century, and is a priceless example for pointing out the exact moment when Spanish art, having in view the artistic movement of Italy and the North, commences to lay the foundations of its own particular style. If, for the study of the history of art in Spain, the "Virgin of Battles" is of interest, much more so is it for the knowledge of art in Seville from the thirteenth century, from whence dates the foundation of the subsequent progress of our city.

At the accomplishment of the conquest of Seville by St. Fernando a great artistic movement took place in it. On all sides rose up churches and chapels, in which were collected emblems of Christian worship, both in works of sculpture and of painting. To be impressed by the study of the many works of that period which are yet preserved, the figure of the "Virgin of Battles" may serve as a normal type, because this sculpture, which represented the state of Spanish art, would be adopted in point of style for the many images which Seville required. In fact, in the midst of the varieties of style which are seen arising either from the personal impression of each artist, or from the more marked predominance of the style of Italy or the North, yet the national character is maintained which was instituted by the figure of the "Virgin of Battles."

The conception of this subject is due to the idea and the sentiment of Christianity. Spiritual beauty is here the most important; and without entering upon a close analysis of it, yet the sculpture as a whole produces a profound and sweet impression without any of its elements interfering with its uniformity. The result is a group in which are discerned simplicity, elevation, and love, yet with the fact that all the lines which make up the attraction of this work of art are intelligible to every beholder. Our artists in the images of religion maintained dignity, yet sought to penetrate the treasures of love, to see them under a thousand phases, and always in direct relation to human life. Spaniards in general, and especially those of the South, come to the beings of their devotion, and address to them their sorrows and their joys in the same way that a child does to its mother in whom all is love and benevolence. One cannot measure the immense distance between man and the divine beings, and therefore one does not hesitate to approach them with entire confidence and love. This sentiment, which existed with great force in the old Spaniards, is, according to our opinion, the secret spring which determines the character of national art. Whenever we see a work of art, we endeavour to penetrate its inmost feeling—the part within, the idea, the expression of which the artist proposed to himself; because this foundation once understood, it has served the author as his guide, and consequently constitutes a base by which the design, the drawing, the expression, the colour, and all the other elements, may be appreciated. We have found in this image Christian spirituality conceived with simplicity, elevation, and love. Well then this determines the character of all and of each one of the means of expressing the idea. In the first place the composition of this group is done with intelligence and with good taste. The Virgin is shown seated upon a throne, without the appearance of either levity or hardness. The general contour is simple and elegant; in harmony with the frame of mind selected by the artist, which is no other than that of satisfaction at carrying in her arms her son Jesus, whom she supports in her left. The position of the infant and his form are attractive, from his infantine beauty; and the figure at

the same time completes the general design of the composition, in which nothing is seen deviating from what would be exacted by the idea which guided the artist.

What interests us in these Spanish works, which appear in epochs especially influenced by an artistic style is, the use of a continuous investigation of the types and figures in order to discover whether the native artists obeyed altogether the models which arrived from foreign parts, to the extent of being merely imitators of the inventions of foreigners, or whether they were simply penetrated with the lofty feeling of the object, reserving to themselves, for the rest, perfect liberty of action.¹

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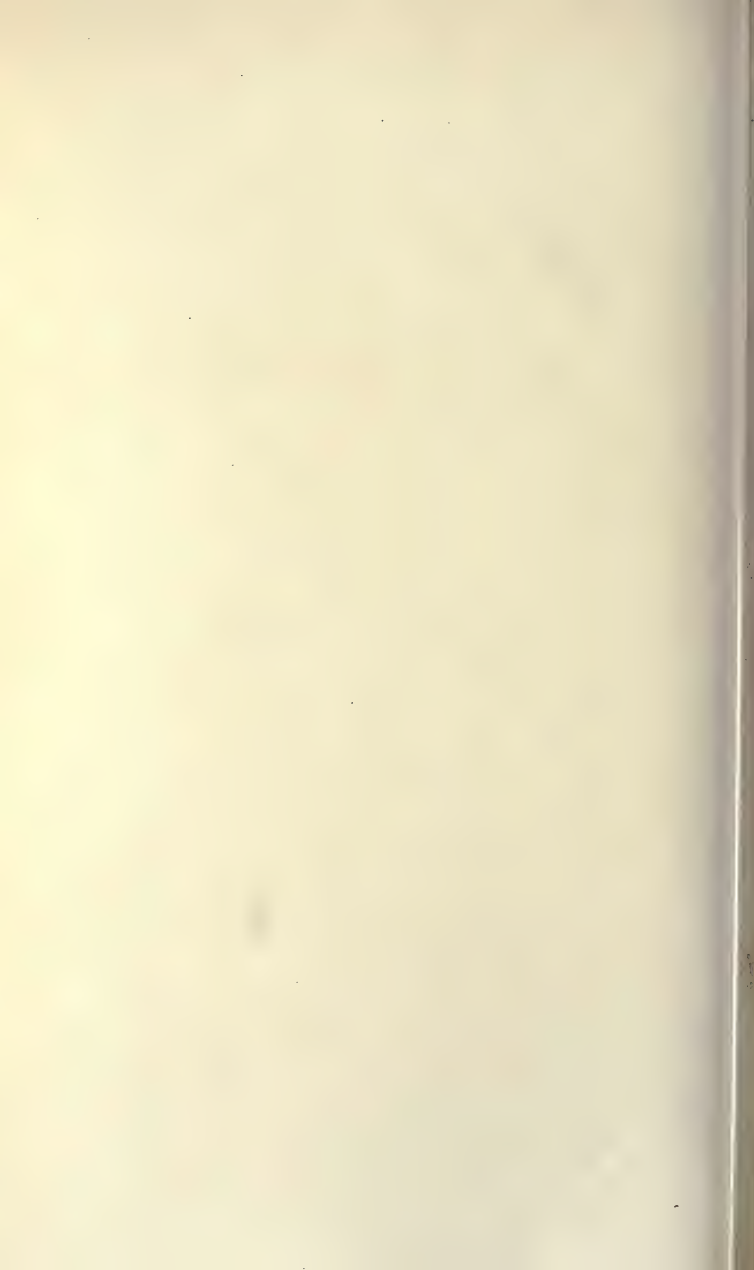
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The Infant, on his part, shows the complacency becoming the child in the arms of its mother. But besides the loving expression of that childlike head, it is in harmony with the character of intense goodness inherent in Jesus. For this reason the group we are studying is so attractive in that it presents the loftiest pitch of the Christian religion through the prism of pure love, which is the mode of thought most in sympathy with that of all Spaniards.

The "Virgin of Battles" is of plain ivory without any trace of extraneous ornamentation. We prefer these works to the draped images, in which the head and hands alone are the work of the sculptor, and which are adorned with real drapery, gold and jewels. In these cases the offering of the wealth of the earth to the divine beings is purely material, whilst in the simple and beautiful images realized on every point by the artist, a tribute is offered of greater value, because there the whole force of human intellect is applied assiduously to invent forms and expressions to demonstrate the beauty which appertains to a Christian personage. With this lofty view the creation of types of the highest interest and vitality is arrived at; the forms, the expression, the mode of composition, the disposal of the drapery, and all the elements of the work, are a direct emanation of the æsthetic spirit, and in each it is seen that the artist has left in his work his very inmost soul. This then being the highest gift with which God has endowed the Creature, we repeat that he renders in this sense a homage of re-

¹ Here, for brevity, a page of the original is omitted.





spect and adoration, without its having been necessary for him, in showing it, to resort to the riches, purely material, of the earth.

The manifestation of character and expression in a figure is not limited artistically to the creation of a head; the artist must at the same time know how to give to the body due forms and proportions, as well as to determine the appropriate movement. The body harmonises with the head as far as the lines of character shewn in the forms and proportions; and the expression by the movement. When this principle is carried to perfection, the result is that in each one of the figures is complete unity, and they satisfy in their entirety, since the slightest feature harmonises with the whole and is imbued with the complete idea. Upon these principles arises the artistic law of drapery, because, as it is not necessary that the direct view of the nude should reach the harmony and vitality before referred to, so it is enough, in order to arrive at the same result, that the forms and proportions of the body may be appreciated, together with the movements suggested; all this can be obtained by means of drapery, as long as this is artistic. It is also to be observed that costume is not to be the slave of the body, but only its echo, in such a way that on the manifestation of what the body is and its movement, it may interpret and translate these of its own free will, obeying nature; otherwise, if at the point of contact it accommodates itself strictly to the body, then results an alteration of human forms, and the beauty of the nude figure is obscured, without arriving at the clear manifestation either of the forms or the expression. If, on the contrary, all connection is broken between the forms and the dress, so that neither the forms nor the movement of the former influence the latter, then there remains nothing in the figures as a means of such manifestation, except the head alone; and the rest of the body is of no avail for expression. In conformity with these principles, Greek sculptors always employed full drapery, the tunic and the cloak in their various forms; but in every case the principal draperies were sustained by the shoulders, and, being of flexible material, they succeeded in allowing the forms and proportions of the figure to be clearly

seen; and, at the same time, that every movement of the body should be communicated to the disposal of the dress. As these draperies do not accommodate themselves to each particular member of the body, the result is that the general view of the dress, and the folds formed in it by every movement, have the necessary freedom peculiar to each.

When Italy was in a condition to go on creating art in harmony with Christian feeling, the hardness of the Byzantine style did not satisfy it; it earned well-deserved laurels by the study of draperies, which, starting from an ancient base, assumed a character of simplicity and delicacy very appropriate to Christian spirituality. On their parts, the men of the North also thought of the proper disposal of dress; but, being governed by the predominating and angular character of Gothic architecture, they brought to it these same principles. On this account one observes a decided inclination to lines, straight and prolonged; a determination in the folds to acute angles, and in consequence an asperity in the draperies, and dresses of little feeling. Not altogether secure as to drawing and as to a knowledge of the forms of the human body, and much less of its beauty, it is seen that the draperies are not a faithful reflex of the movement and the forms of each figure; the result is a want of harmony and intimate relationship between the body and the dress which covers it.

The image of the "Virgin of Battles" is interesting in this respect; there are excellent points about the drapery; and as to this it is enough to notice that part of the tunic and mantle which from the knees of the Virgin falls to the ground, as also the drapery which covers the left hand, through which can be traced the form of the fingers. One admits a perception of the ideal nature of the dress; and, at the same time, this end is obtained through a seriousness and simplicity by forming elegant folds, the lines of which are picked out with delicacy.

Even although this sculpture, according to the criticism we have passed upon it, is a fine example of one of the first efforts to bind together, by the Spaniards, the art of Italy and the art of the North, we must still recognise that it has not been thoroughly accomplished,

in such a way as not to see the predominance of one of the elements over the other. In fact, looking at all the points which we have studied, in them is discovered the influence of Northern art ; and this predominance is also seen in the form of the throne on which the Virgin is seated, and in the character of the architecture. The form of the throne is that of a prism of various rectangular faces, in each of which is an ogee arch supported upon two slender columns, and on the arch is attached as a canopy an acute angle.

This employment of an acute-angled frame is also found in the magnificent silver background of the "Virgin of the Kings", which according to tradition, belonged to the throne of Saint Fernando. These acute angles may also be observed on a very notable plaque of bronze preserved in the Museum of Seville, belonging to a sepulchre. Its date is 1350 of the era, which corresponds to our year 1312. On this bronze is seen in the centre an elegant female figure of natural size, and on the rich border which serves as a frame are represented the Apostles, each two within a Gothic niche, the canopy of which is a frame of an acute angle. It is not strange that in the time of Saint Fernando Northern art should prevail in Spain, since it is known that in this reign the ogee style became acclimatised in our country, together with the fact that one of our most important models of this style corresponds with the spirit of Germany ; we refer to the Cathedral of Burgos, which, from its beauty, was to become a monument or consulting model for the others. If at that time the ogee style of the North was accepted with enthusiasm, it is also evident that sculpture and painting would also feel this predominating influence, and it was as much as the Spaniards could do to preserve, even at that time, their liberty of action to work according to their own feeling, without allowing their case in artistic creations to be one of mere imitators of foreign invention.

II.—In objects of so great historical and artistic interest, such as the ivory statuette known as the "Virgin of Battles", it is worth while for us to assign the dates which we have been able to collect as to its history. If the investigation we have made authorises the statement

that it is a Spanish work of the 13th century, the reunion of dates comes to confirm the opinion that it belonged to Saint Fernando, who carried this image on the saddle-bow in his continual wars with the Moors. At sight it is evident that it was intended to be carried on the saddle-bow; its size, its form, and more than all, the quadrangular aperture which crosses it from the breast downward, where the tenon entered which fastened it to the saddle, leave no room for doubt as to its purpose—much more if we consider the existence in our country of other analogous statuettes, among which we have already mentioned that very notable one of the 11th century which belonged to the monastery of Arlanza. The devotion of Saint Fernando is well known, especially towards the Virgin, and it is also known that during the siege of Seville it was necessary to establish an encampment which should resemble a city, where the king had images of the worship, among others the “Virgin of the Kings”, which is yet preserved. But this image and others similar which might be in the encampment, could not easily, from their size, be carried during the battle, and as it is known that Saint Fernando always carried with him an image of the Virgin, it is indubitable that this must have been one of those which could be placed on the saddle-bow. This work, from its character and style, corresponds to the 13th century; it could not be earlier, because art in the 12th century neither presented the characteristics which this image has, nor was it so advanced as to be able to produce works such as this. Nor do we think that it can be later than the period named, because the productions of the 14th century present different features. On seeing this sculpture, one can understand how it was fastened to the bow in front of the saddle. It must have been fixed on the left side, since it would be impossible to carry it in the centre, seeing that in that case the rider would with difficulty be able to manage his sword, and sometimes this position of the statuette would prevent him from properly guiding his horse. Besides, it does not seem credible that Saint Fernando, or any other Christian warrior, would carry the image of the Virgin so unprotected to battle; but, on the contrary, he would do all he could to defend it from the fire of the enemy. The

reverence due to the image, the power of guarding it from any insult, and the freedom of the cavalier both for attack and for defence—all would concur at the same moment in placing it on the left side of the saddle-bow. In this way the warrior held the image between his breast and left-arm, on which he carried his shield or *parmula* of defence; with the left hand he readily guided his horse, and the right arm had full liberty for all the necessary movements.

Seeing the devotion of the king, it must be supposed that he carried the image of the Virgin, long before the siege of Seville, in those expeditions which he made upon the territory occupied by the Moors, which, however, were not in themselves the re-conquest of those places, but only means of weakening the forces and the resources of those points which were to be definitively occupied at a later period; so that the "Virgin of Battles" must have been the companion of the sainted king from his youth upwards, because precisely the style of this image makes known that it was the work of the beginning of that century. We have authentic testimony of the especial devotion of Saint Fernando in the *Cantigas* of his son Don Alphonso the Wise, in which it is seen how the king trusted to the patronage of the Virgin for the good result of all his enterprises. D. Alfonso Nuñez de Castro speaks of this ivory statuette in his life of the sainted king, and cites the Professor Pedro de Medina, in the second book of the *Grandezas de España*, in support of the opinion that this was the sculpture which he carried on the bow of the saddle. Juan de Pineda also brings together much information in the memorial, treating of the canonization of Saint Fernando; and the same may be said of the Father Siguënza, in a MS. entitled "Translation of our Lady of the Kings and of the Royal Corpses to the New Chapel of the Holy Church of Seville".

When the city was taken, the principal church in the great mosque was consecrated under the patronage of Saint Mary. From the beginning, various images were carried there, among others the "Virgin of the Siege", which is still preserved. She "of the Kings", who received worship in the encampment, had then a special chapel which was called "Royal". In the palace of the Alcazar

was founded a chapel dedicated to S. Clement, and with reason we think that here was deposited the image of the "Virgin of Battles". It was natural that Saint Fernando would keep in his own palace an image which must have accompanied him in all his warlike expeditions, and as these were not at an end with the surrender of Seville,—on the contrary the king had the intention of continuing the war against the Moors,—it was not therefore time to translate the image definitively to the cathedral; for that reason its place was assigned to the chapel of the Alcazar. The *Cantigas* of D. Alphonso, before cited, confirm us in this opinion. In effect, Don Alphonso sings of the beauty of an image of the Virgin which was in the Alcazar, and for which Saint Fernando had much devotion. At the death of the parents of D. Alphonso the Wise, he caused them to be buried in the Royal Chapel situated in the cathedral; and some time after, the people of Seville requested with much earnestness the translation of the image of the Virgin kept in the chapel of the Alcazar to the Royal Chapel. D. Alphonso acceded to their petition, the more so that the image was about to be placed on the spot where his parents were interred. In these poems is described the translation of the image from the Alcazar to the church, and miracles are recounted which it wrought. The image to which these poems refer can be no other than that of ivory which we are scrutinizing, because both that "of the Kings" and that "of the Siege" had been in the church since the time of S. Fernando. D. Alphonso accedes to the translation of that which was kept in the chapel of Saint Clement, out of respect for its being placed where the sainted king was interred; whence it follows that he had a special devotion towards it, that now it could be removed from the Alcazar to be taken to the Royal Chapel. These important premises being settled, which are a solid foundation in support of the tradition that this is the sculpture carried by the king in his wars with the Moors, we will note the documents and authors who mention this image as contained among those preserved in the Royal Chapel. The Chapel of the Kings was installed since the beginning in the chief mosque, consecrated as the mother church; however, during the 13th century the circuit of the church was

divided, all the eastern part being appropriated to the Royal Chapel, in which was placed the image of the "Virgin of the Kings", a numerous family of attendants being assigned to its service. This division of the church subsisted for a long time, but when the Dean and Chapter proposed to rebuild the cathedral, they saw that a larger space was needful for their purposes than that which was at their disposal, and then they began to ask the king that he should give up to the cathedral a great part of the space occupied by the Royal Chapel. This happened when the see was vacant by the death of D. Gonzalo de Mena. What was asked was conceded to the Chapter, on the condition that they should ornament the Royal Chapel at their own cost, and then they might continue the work of the cathedral. In 1450, having need of the space where the "Virgin of the Kings" and the royal sepulchres were placed, to continue the work, they translated the images, the relics, and the royal corpses, to a room of the Nave del Lagarto, where they remained till the year 1539, in which year they passed to the Knights' cloister, which is on the same spot now occupied by the parish church of the "Sanctuary". It formed one of the galleries of the Quadrangle of the Orange Trees, and in it the conquerors of Seville founded various chapels, in which their burials were announced, for which it received the name "of the Conquerors" or "of the Knights". In this spot the relics, images and royal corpses remained in safe custody until the year 1579, when, on the new chapel being completed, they were removed into it definitively. Various authors have given a detailed account of the translation of the venerated objects which were deposited in the nave of the Knights. It was accomplished with great solemnity, the objects being carried first to the chief chapel of the cathedral, where a numerous and select military guard watched during the night. On the next day there was a solemn procession, and they were carried to the new chapel. All these accounts cite the Virgin of ivory, which then wanted the right arm. Siguenza, in relating this solemnity, says that the image of the "Virgin of Battles" was carried by a prebend with a silken veil in his hands, and the image had already lost an arm. This same author also says that besides what tradition tells

us of Saint Fernando having carried this ivory statuette in his wars, it is known that his son D. Alphonso the Wise also carried it, which is not matter of surprise, because this king would follow the same line of devotion as his father in the wars which he had to keep up against the Moors. Consequently this image must have accompanied him in his expeditions against the Moorish kings of Niebla, of Fejada, of the Algarves, and of other places. This information tends to confirm the fact that the ivory image remained in the chapel of S. Clement in the Royal Palace, because it was that which our kings carried with them in their expeditions against the Moors; and this *datum* proves that D. Alphonso, in the *Cantigas* before mentioned, refers to this same image when he says that at the request of the people he granted that it should be removed to the Royal Chapel where his father and mother were interred. We should add to this series of considerations, that in the inventory of the *Visitation* of 1539 it is said, in reference to the former date, "An image of Our Lady Saint Mary of ivory which has an arm broken", is preserved, so that at the beginning of the sixteenth century it already figured in the Royal Chapel without any mention to indicate that its acquisition was of recent date. Let it be observed that in the beginning the chapel was in the eastern part of the ancient mosque, and that every thing which was in it was deposited in 1450 in one of the rooms of the "Nave del Lagarto", from whence in 1539 they passed to the "nave of the Knights". We find it among the objects of the first chapel which passed to the "Nave del Lagarto", while at the same time, among these same, this work of ivory figures in the inventory of the *Visitation*; it is afterwards again quoted among the images which were deposited in the "nave of the Knights", from whence they were translated to the present chapel; and by this we hold, without there being anything to the contrary, that this image, since the time when D. Alphonso the Wise caused it to be removed to where his parents were buried, comes to form an integral part of the treasures of the Palace, and has followed identical removals until it came definitively to the place which it now occupies.

Father Juan de Pineda, in his memorial of the extra-

ordinary sanctity and heroic virtues of D. Fernando III, in mentioning the images of the Virgin which the Saint had in his camp during the siege of Seville, says as follows: "And besides is preserved in the said Royal Chapel another third ivory image of the Mother of God with her son in arms, which tradition also said that he carried with him to the wars, and some say that he carried it fastened to the saddle-bow, to have it always before him and to worship it; of which there appears some sign in the pedestal of the image, which is concave. It is two palms in height, more or less. The antiquity of the ivory is seen in its yellowness, verging upon brown, agreeably with what is written of the Nazarenes, that they were 'white as snow, redder and browner than ancient ivory'." It results from this that this image was already very ancient at the time when Juan de Pineda wrote his memorial.

The examination of it has proved to us that it was destined from the first to be carried on the saddle-bow, a pious practice used of old in Spain, as the image of iron proves, of which we have spoken. As time went on we believe it became no longer the custom to carry images on the bow of the saddle, and in the 15th century this practice must have ceased, since nothing is told us of it in the time of the Catholic kings in their conquest of Granada. In the statuette of ivory which we have examined, besides the historical antecedents referred to, which lead us to recognise in it a work of the 13th century, a scrutiny of it persuades us that, in truth, it corresponds with the commencement of the said century, and that it is a Spanish work. It combines characteristics peculiar to the art of the time; in it is perceived that sympathetic and Spanish spirit, which accepting and feeling the character of Italy and the North, melts together both tendencies, and announces the turning point of native art. The predominance of the influence of artists who carried to its apogee, the ogee-arch style is visible in this sculpture; and this circumstance determines still more the epoch to which it belongs, because just at the beginning of the 13th century the ogee style with the Cathedral of Burgos takes up a real importance; the Romanesque style which had prevailed commencing then to be disused.

During the 13th century Gothic taste became popularized, for which the Spaniards shewed special aptitude; and if there were not so many select works of this kind in our country, the precious *custodia* or reliquary of gold, which is preserved among the jewellery of the Cathedral of Cadiz, would be enough to confirm this assertion. This precious work of the 13th century was given by the King D. Alphonso the Wise.

THE PECULIARITIES OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES OF DEVONSHIRE.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(*Read in part, August 1882.*)

THE local differences of design in our ancient churches are among the most curious objects of study in relation to these structures, and the interest to be derived from their consideration is so great as to justify my directing especial attention to the subject. To many observers, one Gothic church may seem as if it must of necessity resemble in its general features any other building of similar dimensions and age. If, however, it should be granted that the churches of the various continental nations have marked differences, through the differences of race and the temper of the times in which they were erected, it may be less easy to appreciate that here in England the old buildings have different types and are of different schools, not only with respect to the great divisions, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, but that each district has also its own local style. Thus, the long low churches of Cumberland are by so much similar to those of Devonshire; but yet a Cumberland church could never be mistaken for one indigenous to this county. In like manner the spires of Northamptonshire, or those of Lincolnshire, are like nothing here in Devon. The embattled towers of Kent, which form so prominent a feature in the landscape of that favoured county, are very dissimilar in treatment to similarly arranged ones around us. Here we may not expect to find either the wooden spires of Essex, the lofty towers of Norfolk and Suffolk, or the elaborate structures of Somerset. In consideration of the local peculiarities of these counties, all of which it may be are of similar age to the churches of Devonshire, we are struck by the marked difference in the design and treatment of the latter.

A typical Devonshire church consists of a long low

three-aisled building, there being no difference in height between nave and chancel, and the aisles are extended to the east end, which is square. There is no chancel arch, the aisles are often of equal width and height to the nave; the roofs are of timber arched, and generally of very good oak, or they would not have survived until now, from the almost entire absence of tie or collar-beams, always elsewhere recognised as being of structural benefit. The arches are generally depressed, four-centred, springing from piers moulded similarly to the arches; a very favourite design being four small bead-like columns facing the cardinal points, with hollows between them, the bases being somewhat feebly moulded, with a multiplicity of small parts, while the caps, when they are not octagonal, and treated much as the bases, have often good conventional carving or rows of shields. The tower, almost always at the west end, is a very usual adjunct to this typical church, and it is very generally a conspicuous one. Devonshire may be proud of her church towers, for they are of great beauty, of much singularity, and unlike any other towers in England in many particulars. They are almost always lofty in relation to the churches to which they are attached, the lowness of the latter adding to their apparent height. In many cases they are built tapering, being of less width at the summit than at the base, and this peculiar feature is perhaps the greatest local peculiarity. A few other towers elsewhere in England taper in a similar way, such as that at Elton, Northants; but one could never be mistaken for the other. The buttresses of these towers are generally small and feeble, set at right angles to the walls, but at some distance from the angles. Octagonal staircase-turrets are almost universal; but instead of being at the angle, as is so usual in Kent, they are often in the centre of either the north or the south wall, or in some irregular position.

This description of a typical Devonshire church will be completed by reference to the existence in many cases of one or more chantry chapels; good porches, often with a chamber over; an abundance of unusually fine carved oak-work, parclose and rood screens, the latter often having the rood loft remaining, while the whole is frequently deco-

rated with elaborate colouring.¹ The monuments and brasses, the sedilia and other features of church arrangement, are perhaps not so numerous as in many other counties, yet this is quite compensated for by the unusually fine and valuable examples of all these features that exist.²

The style of the great number of the Devonshire churches is Perpendicular of the 15th and 16th centuries, and in this respect additional weight is given to the remarks made with regard to the local differences of design already pointed out. These are not between buildings, some of early and others of later date, but between those which are of the same age and style. These remarks are sufficient to shew how flexible and pliant is the grand old Gothic architecture of our country, and how readily it may be adapted to every want and requirement, local or otherwise.

This comparatively late date of the churches is another local peculiarity. In most of our other counties, early and late work are alike met with, not only in churches some more or some less in one style or the other; but often the same church has examples of all styles, early and late alike. Here, on the contrary, the churches are almost always of the prevalent Perpendicular style, to the exclusion of all others. It indicates that the 15th

¹ The original colouring of the very fine screen of Pinhoe Church could be well made out a few years ago. It has been recently restored in Mr. Hems' usual masterly manner. Very fine screens exist both at Totnes and Dartmouth churches, where they extend from north to south, across the aisles as well as the chancel. Besides these, others may be seen, both of stone and wood. Of the former material, fine examples remain at Lipput, Colyton, Awliscombe, Bideford, Paignton, and many others; of wood, with the rood-loft remaining, at Berry Pomeroy, Bradninch (1528), Ashton, Collumpton, Harberton, Marwood, King's Nympton, Poltimore, Tallaton (a very fine example), Tiverton, Tor Bryan, etc. There are still more where the rood-screen alone remains. Many of the panels are painted with figures of saints.

² The monuments in Plympton St. Mary are worthy of careful study. At Paignton Church is a curious monumental screen of fifteenth century work, which has been of great beauty. At Beer Ferris there is not only some good stained glass, but a monumental effigy of great beauty, of a knight in chain-armour, of late thirteenth century date. There is also a Crusader at Haccombe Church; a fine effigy, beneath a series of canopied niches, at Broad Clyst; and the monument of the Dinham's, husband and wife, at King's Carswell, is a work of great sculptural skill.

and 16th centuries were periods of great activity in church building; that one old structure after another was taken in hand and demolished to make way for what we now see. One parish seems to have vied with another in this respect, and to so great an extent, that in Devon and Cornwall the older buildings have disappeared to a remarkable degree. This is very greatly to be regretted, for what few remain to us are of great interest, and afford valuable links to connect the more remote past with the work of the centuries named.

It may not be amiss to refer to some of the best examples of Devonshire churches, indicative of the local peculiarities. Those of Perpendicular style deserve the foremost place, since they are representative of the great number which now remain.

St. Andrew's, Plymouth, and Makar churches have remarkably fine and bold towers, the former being the more elaborate, having crocketed pinnacles and the feeble buttresses before alluded to; the latter is better designed, plainer, and a better representative example. Both are remarkably lofty in relation to their churches, the latter particularly so. The interior of St. Andrew's is a good typical example of the more elaborate of the Devonshire churches, it being among the largest of the parochial structures of England, but the screenwork is all but gone. Makar Church is a fair example internally of a church of much smaller class. Both these fine towers are of granite.

Very good towers with pinnacles are at Chulmleigh, Bradninch, Buckleigh, Drewsteignton, Buckland Monachorum, Plympton St. Mary's, Collumpton (perhaps the finest in the county for its admirable proportion), Tiverton, Chawleigh, Christon, Harberton, South Molton, Kenton, Chittlehampton (which is a worthy rival of Collumpton), Totnes, which has bold and good pinnacles, Broad Clyst, a capital example of a tower plainer than some of the others, Bishop's Nympton, to which the same remark equally applies; and, lastly, but not in any way the least worthy of praise, the lofty and elegant tower of Widdicombe on the Moor, a structure simply designed, with admirable regard to its surroundings, and which has, thanks to their study, an artistic appearance that will

enable it to take rank with the best of the Devonshire towers.

Many of the churches attached to the towers named, possess all the local characteristics already referred to. Collumpton has a magnificent chantry chapel, which may be compared with the beautiful work of Launceston and Truro churches in Cornwall.¹ The large south porch occurs also here, and at several of the other churches.

Some of the plainer of the towers, without pinnacles, are at Kenn, where there is a very fine staircase turret, not unlike that formerly at St. Mary Church; Paignton, where the church has a well pronounced transept, not a common feature in the county; Little Hempstone, where the staircase turret comes up in the centre of the south face of the tower, causing the belfry to be designed with two small windows, one on each side. The church has a sort of single clerestory window, under a gable, to throw light on to the rood loft, a peculiar arrangement found in some few other churches in the county. At Darlington and several other churches, the belfry windows are formed of two semicircular lights, but this, in those cases, does not indicate early work—the date is still that of the Perpendicular period.

At Tiverton, and a few other churches elsewhere in the county, a clerestory wall appears to the nave but no windows—clerestories, elsewhere so common in churches of the period, being of the greatest rarity in the county.

Lympstone church has a good example of a plain embattled tower, while the aisle windows have peculiar flamboyant tracery, a pleasing variety to the usually plain and monotonous patterns which occur far too frequently in the county—the sameness of design in the windows being at once a local peculiarity and a defect. Of the older churches which remain, by far the most interesting is Ottery St. Mary. Crediton is an interesting church, while a good example of Norman work occurs at Sidbury, where there is a bold tower with a truncated spire well worthy of study. The design of these and those of Ottery St. Mary was probably derived from those

¹ The south chantry chapel of Tiverton Church is another remarkably fine example.

formerly existing on Exeter Cathedral. There are but few spires in the county, and these are not remarkable for great elevation.

The older churches are generally of small size, or testify, from the portions that remain incorporated in larger buildings of later date, that they were originally so.¹ As in Cornwall, many churches appear to have been originally but a simple nave, there being no marked distinction between nave and chancel, resembling in this respect some of the primitive churches of Ireland. We can readily trace the steps of development, sometimes by the addition of one aisle, sometimes of two. In some cases a transept has been thrown out, while in others the transepts themselves have disappeared in the side aisles of still later date.² The enquiry as to who were the builders of so great a number of costly churches within so limited a period, is one which must always occur to us. Strangely enough, no certain record of this great county work has been recorded for us, and there appear but few notices of the churches having been reconsecrated. This was probably not deemed to be necessary, and it points to the gradual superseding of the older churches by the addition of the new works by instalments, rather than the entire rebuilding at once.

The History of the rebuilding of Bodmin Church, Cornwall, recently recovered by the late Rev. J. Wilkinson, may be accepted as the record of the similar transactions in many of the Devonshire parishes. We learn in this interesting record how one trade or religious guild vied with another in subscribing funds, while a regular system of collecting from the townspeople appears to have been adopted. Some of the stained windows in the beautiful church of St. Neot's were thus subscribed for. Thus was emulation excited, and the good work of church building carried on. Here in Devon, we appear to possess evidence of the existence of the same spirit; one instance may be cited. The south aisle of Berry Pomeroy Church

¹ Some of the older churches are not remarkable for very good workmanship, and it may be concluded that much of the rebuilding was due to this as well as to the needs of increased population.

² The small church of Brampford Speke has a singular south transept of unusual size in relation to the small nave.

has a series of names on the capitals of the pillars dividing it from the nave. These are of various men and their wives. One husband and wife appear to have built one column, and another the second, and so on.

The material of the Devonshire churches is generally the red sandstone of the district, a picturesque material, but liable to decay. Unfortunately, the practice has been, until lately, to cover the whole of the surface with wretched cement, and thus many an ancient church has quite a modern aspect. This plan is greatly to be deprecated; and the cement should be removed, the stonework repaired and carefully repointed.

The granite churches of Devonshire are a class by themselves, and approach very nearly to those in Cornwall. The same bold treatment is observable, and they are objects worthy of very careful study. The same may be said of a group of churches of a totally different character, on the borders of Dorset, in the wooded country formerly part of the forest of Exmoor. These are mostly of small size, and of 14th century work, or earlier.¹

I will bring my remarks to a close by a reference to a peculiarity in the dedications which is deserving of attention. We find in Cornwall that almost every church is called after some British or Welsh Saint of remote antiquity. So universal is this, that we can but consider it as important evidence of the extent of Christianity in the country in very early times.

Here in Devonshire it is so different. At first we may be inclined to believe that the churches were called after the usual saints, as in other parts of England, with the usual few examples, here and there, named after Saxon saints of some antiquity.

A careful inspection, however, reveals the interesting fact that many of the churches are still called after British saints, such as we find in Cornwall.

¹ The fonts of several of the Devonshire churches are of great antiquity, having survived the rebuildings in many cases. At Alphington Church is a Norman circular font with a band of grotesque carving different to the interlaced work of earlier times, and with a row of interlaced arches. Other curious fonts are at St. Mary Steps, Exeter, Stoke Canon, and Hartland. So numerous are they that a long list could readily be given. These are mostly of Norman date, but a few may prove to be earlier still.

St. Petrock occurs no less than nine times, St. Helen twice, and there are examples to SS. Nonna, Brannock, Brendonus, Christina, Constantinus, Paternus, Eustachius, Onolaus, and many others. These seem to indicate that the condition of Devonshire and Cornwall was originally much the same, so far as regards the development of the Christian faith in early times, and that many of the older dedications have survived the Saxon invasion.¹

¹ There is historical evidence of the occurrence of the names of some of the early saints at very early periods. Thus we hear that prior to 1184 there were confirmed to Tavistock Abbey the appropriations of the churches of St. Eustachius, Tavistock; St. Constantine; St. Paternus at N. Petherton; St. Helen at Abbotsham, etc. These names are thus referred to as existing in the twelfth century, and must have existed prior to the date of the document. The name of St. Rumon, an Irish bishop, who settled in Cornwall at an uncertain but early period, occurs as a second name in the dedication of Tavistock Abbey in the tenth century. It may probably be the survival of that of an early Christian church on the site. The occurrence of the early memorials now at Tavistock Rectory, recovered from the surrounding locality, point to the existence of a Christian community in the district.

THE ANTIQUITY AND ANTIQUITIES OF PLYMOUTH.

BY R. N. WORTH, ESQ., F.G.S., PRESIDENT OF THE
PLYMOUTH INSTITUTION.

(Read August 1882.)

THE recorded history of Plymouth cannot be traced much further back than the Norman Conquest. The town finds no mention in the *Saxon Chronicle*. Risdon, indeed, writing the life of St. Indractus, tells us that by the Saxons it was named Tamarweorth; and Leland asserts that much of what afterwards came to be called Plymouth was held by the Saxon canons of the ancient college of Plympton, which Bishop Warelwast made the foundation of the famous Plympton Priory. But these statements are unsupported and worthless, and the earliest undoubted and distinct mention we have of Plymouth in history is as the Sutton of Domesday, held by William in succession to the Confessor, an insignificant manor with an enumerated population of seven only. It was many a long year after this that the manor was granted by the Crown to the Valletorts, and by them in part to the monks of Plympton, and that mainly by the fostering care of the Prior and his brethren, though largely as the result of independent effort, the foundations of the metropolis of the West were laid.

But the tale of the early days of Plymouth would be incomplete if we stopped here. Plymouth herself may be a mere infant of some eight centuries' growth, but the magnificent harbour to which she owes her birth had played its part in the national life, such as it was, many a long year before the Norman Conquest; and for the first settlement on its shores we must go back at least to the days of the ancient Keltic civilisation which preceded the coming of the Roman, and in the West was never supplanted by him. The eastern shores of Plymouth Sound, in the neighbourhood of Staddon Heights, have yielded from time to time abundant traces of the presence

of a comparatively dense and cultured population. Mount Batten has given us examples of the earliest and latest British coinage in gold and silver and copper ; and in an ancient cemetery hard by, below Staddon Heights, were found a host of articles of bronze—the final illustrations of the elder pre-Roman civilisation of this land. The most important of these are deposited in the museum of the Plymouth Institution. Nay, we go further back yet. Not only are worked flints of rude type found on the heights on either side of the Sound, but it is only within the past eighteen months that under an ancient house in one of the oldest streets of Plymouth, the remains of a kitchen *midden* were discovered, and beneath them a singular example of urn burial. Again, the oldest name we have for what is now called Cattedown is Hingston, or Hangstone—"Stonehenge" reversed, and in the rude sketch-map of the southern and western coasts in the British Museum, made in connection with the fortifying of our seaboard in the reign of Henry VIII, there is depicted an object which appears intended for a cromlech upon the western side of that down, while upon the Hoe is shown what may be intended for a tolmen. Upon this latter point, however, I lay no stress ; the position is just one that would suit the occurrence of such a rude stone monument, but if it ever existed it has left no trace. The evidence for the hanging-stone of Hingston seems much more clear.

And further yet. I have shown you that while the origin of Plymouth itself comes well within the historic period, it has important pre-historic connections, and that indirectly its pedigree goes back to pre-Roman times. I cannot point to any evidence of its position in the Roman era. With the exception of a few scattered coins, hardly a score in all, found at various points in the neighbourhood, the Romans have left no traces of their visits here. The remains of a Roman galley are said to have been found in the silt of the marshes near Plympton, but we are not told who identified it ; and as an evidence of more than the most casual Roman intercourse with this locality, it stands utterly alone. We have no means whatever of linking on the Saxon Sutton of Domesday with the Keltic settlement of Staddon, unless we are

content to fall back upon myth and legend; and they will carry us very much further afield.

I am not ashamed to say, even in this company, that there is a sense in which I can attach historical value even to the writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth. I see no reason to question his honesty when he says he is reproducing an ancient record brought from Brittany. We know he did not invent the story of Brutus the Trojan, in which I really think we have the traditionary record of the earliest invasion of this land by an historic people; and one would imagine there must have been some reason for associating the Hoe with the legendary combat of Corinæus and Goemagot, told in such striking verse by Spencer, beyond the mere similarity of name which undoubtedly gave rise to the traditional Brutus Stone at Totnes. So while I think that either Geoffrey or one of his editors erred seriously in identifying the Hamo's Port, which finds such frequent mention in his *Chronicle* as the chief port of Western Britain, with Southampton, on the single score of the "ham" common to both, I am not at all sure that these references do not point to a regular use in the Keltic era of the estuary of the Tamar for British maritime expeditions, seeing that it has descended to us at the present day as the Hamoaze. Hamo's Port is made the fitting centre by Geoffrey of some of the most stirring scenes in the traditional national life, and it is the Hamoaze that best suits the references.

One more remark before I pass on to certain ground. It has been assumed that Plymouth was one of the ports to which the Phœnicians traded in quest of tin. It may have been so, but there is no proof. It has been suggested further that St. Michael's, *alias* Tristram's, *alias* St. Nicholas's, *alias* Drake's Island, may have been the Ictis of Diodorus Siculus. To that we can give a certain denial. When we are pointed to Mount Batten as the alternative, we are tempted to ask, *cui bono*? Thus when all is said and done, all we know with certainty of the origin of Plymouth is that whilst the shores of the Sound have been peopled, perhaps continuously, from distant pre-historic times, at the date of the Norman Conquest Plymouth was not, but its place was occupied by a tiny hamlet of the name of Sutton.

And why Sutton, south-town? Another question that we cannot answer, though we may guess. The old name stuck to it for centuries, and it was not until the year 1439 that the familiar Plymouth officially supplanted the older title, though it had been in occasional use at least a century before. But the growth of the community must have been very rapid. While the manor remained in the hands of the kings, little or nothing was done to develop its resources. We learn, however, from an inquiry made in 1318, before the then Sheriff of Devon, that prior to the foundation of the "ville of Sutton" there was a spot within the precincts of the manor where the fishers, whose huts dotted the shores of Sutton Pool, used to resort to sell their fish (the present market rights date from 1254), and that then, as now, and continuously ever since, they were accustomed to dry their nets and sails on the slopes of the Hoe—the high rocky hill which for long ages afterwards shut out all view of the town from the sea. When the manor passed from the Crown to the Valletorts a change came over the fortunes of the little community, though Leland states that in the latter part of the twelfth century it was still "a mene thing as an Inhabitation for fischars." Sutton became one of the places of occasional residence of the Valletort family, and the few scattered houses on the slopes above the harbour developed a centre of population. Thence the town increased, as Leland says, "by litle and litle". The Valletorts gave freely of their land to the Priory of Plympton; and the Prior encouraged settlement within his territories, hereafter distinguished by the name of Sutton Prior, which grew so rapidly as soon to distance the elder ville of the Valletorts,—Sutton Vawter, thereafter known by the name of Old Town, and now as Old Town Street. How rapid was the growth when prosperity fairly set in, two or three facts will show. While the original foundation of the church of St. Andrew certainly dates well back in the twelfth century; the Carmelites established themselves here in 1313; the Franciscans were not very much later in making their appearance; and the Dominicans were also represented. To the siege of Calais in 1346 Plymouth sent more ships and men than any other place save Dartmouth, Yarmouth,

and Fowey. The latter part of the fourteenth century found Plymouth one of the best known and most thriving ports in England, with a corporation of some kind bearing rule, and with so large a population that the Subsidy Roll of 1377 records a taxable inhabitancy of 4,837, and thus gives it the rank of the fourth town in the kingdom; London, York, and Bristol alone exceeding it. Such was the work of three centuries. In these early days of the national life, probably no town ever advanced with such rapid strides.

Such being the antiquity of Plymouth there should be fair reason to boast of its antiquities. Alas, no! There are those among us who remember when Plymouth still retained a venerable aspect and abundant traces of her former glories. But of late years the tide of improvement—real and sham—has been in vigorous flow; and very soon the few remaining antiquities of Plymouth will share the fate of their predecessors. It is painful to recall what we have lost.

Centuries ago, beyond the memory of man or course of record, there was graven in the sward of the Hoe the “lively effigies” of two figures armed with clubs, commemorating the legendary conflict between Corinæus and Gocmaget. Year by year, as occasion required, this “pyc-ture of Gogmagog” was renewed at the town’s expense; but it disappeared when Charles II built the citadel to awe the Puritan community. The older fortifications of the town dated from the reign of Richard II, and were full of interest. The great “castel quadrate” described by Leland was erected early in the fifteenth century, and the leading citizens built bulwarks in the Hoe, known thereafter by their names, as “Thyckpeny ys bolwerke.”

Henry VIII built little vaulted towers close to the water’s edge. Under Elizabeth the irregular works on the Hoe were extended and methodised into a well-planned fortification. To defend the town against the Cavaliers, the walls were renewed, and earthworks cast up, which were held successfully for well nigh four years. Under the second Charles, Sir Bernard de Gorme built the Citadel; and in our own day the military art has almost exhausted itself in devices of defence. Yet of the older fortifications of five centuries, beyond the Citadel itself, there is hardly a

trace. All the ancient gates have been swept away; of the wall there are only a few unimportant vestiges by Tothill Lane, Gascoigne Place, and Ham Street; the castle is represented by two puny turrets flanking a doorway in Lambhay Street; just the vault and a flight of steps at the eastern entrance of Millbay remain of the forts of Henry VIII; Elizabeth is represented by a dwarf tower at Devil's Point; almost the last vestige of the earthworks that defied a king have been destroyed within half a dozen years; and the most picturesque and interesting feature of the ancient defences of Plymouth to which I can now direct your attention, is the bold tower which crowns Mount Batten, and which was erected in the reign of Charles II.

If we turn to the ecclesiastical antiquities of the town, we are indeed somewhat more fortunate, though here too we have but a remnant of what we once possessed. Of the church and buildings of the White Friars there were important remains down to the early part of the present century, but the last traces of the ruined walls lie buried beneath the South Western goods station, which in its name—the Friary—preserves the memory of the ancient dedication. Of the house of the Franciscans there are a few bold doorways in Woolster Street; and not only here, but in other of the older thoroughfares of the town, in the neighbourhood of the quays, there are sundry characteristic though hardly noteworthy and very fragmentary relics of the elder Plymouth. In Southside Street are portions of what presumably was the house of the Black Friars—then the town Marshalsea, then the first public meeting-place of the Plymouth Nonconformists, then occupied by a band of exiled Huguenots, who maintained the worship of their fathers in the town down to 1807; now and long since the distillery whence issues the noted Plymouth gin! There was an ancient Leper-House or Maudlin at North Hill, but it was removed and a fort erected instead in the wars of the Commonwealth; there were holy wells and hermitages, but their places know them no more; and the site of the hall of the Guild of Corpus Christi (near the western end of the Municipal Buildings) is only identifiable by the recitals of deeds. Close by stood the ancient alms-

houses, pulled down for the erection of the present Guildhall, which are mentioned so far back as the middle of the fifteenth century, and in which when demolished there was found the oldest existing structural relic of Plymouth—the bold transitional Norman arch, presumably part of the original church of St. Andrew, which now adorns the entrance lobby of the museum of the Plymouth Institution.

The chapel of St. Katherine on the Hoe, mentioned by Leland, went with the “Gogmagog” when the Citadel was built. I am somewhat inclined to regard it as the oldest church of the fishermen of Sutton; but whether that be so or not, it certainly formed, in conjunction with the chapel of St. Nicholas on Drake’s Island, pulled down for the erection of defences in the reign of Elizabeth, and the still remaining chapel of St. Michael on the Rame Head, a series of guiding points—the lighthouses of the middle ages—indispensable in those days to the safe entrance of Cattewater, or Sutton Pool, in the dark. No port in England was so systematically or so well supplied with such safeguards, while for signalling alarm a beacon was always kept ready on the Hoe, and in time of known peril the chapel at Rame sheltered a watchman, who did plenty of work for very little pay.

And thus it has come to pass that of all the positive wealth of mediæval ecclesiastical edifices which Plymouth at one time possessed, we can only point our visitors now to St. Andrew and its adjunct, the so-called Abbey. And while St. Andrew itself is a fine example of the characteristic Perpendicular Gothic of the county, and its tower a very noble one, internally it, too, is but the shadow of its former glories—its elaborate screens and canopies, and rich carvings, were all swept away in the old churchwarden age, and have left not a wreck behind. We can hardly imagine what the quaint glowing beauty of the interior must have been at the time of the Reformation, and probably long afterwards. The origin and purpose of the “Abbey”, has long been a matter of sharp controversy; but the question to my mind has been settled by my discovery in the borough records of a reference to the “prysten house”, and its grant by the Corporation, 30th Henry VIII, to Sir Thomas Flyte, chantry priest,

for his sole use during life, with his chamber therein, for his great cost in repairing the "keychen" of the same.

Charles Church is noteworthy for the architectural student, as affording a rare illustration of the way in which here and there the spirit of Gothic architecture lingered on through the commonly debased and pseudo-classicism of the Jacobean age. A noteworthy fabric as it stands, it was much more so when it came fresh from the hands of its unknown architect, for his designs have sadly suffered from the fancies of later workers. The present spire is none of his; he did not fall back upon pine-apples for pinnacles; nor is he responsible for the dormer windows, and many other points of detail. But Plymouth until recently had yet further reason to be proud of its seventeenth century architecture in the bold and picturesque, if heavy, piles of solid limestone and enduring granite of the Hospital of Orphans' Aid, the Grammar School, and the Poor's Portion or Workhouse, which, like so much else, had perforce to be swept away to clear the site for the present Guildhall.

Of our ancient domestic buildings, I need say but little. Here and there corbel and gable and oriel still remain in low estate to show what a picturesque town old Plymouth was. Our finest Elizabethan dwelling, the grand old house in Notte Street, has fortunately fallen into good hands, and will not only be heedfully preserved, but made the central feature of a new block of kindred character. Another twenty years, and it will be nearly all we shall have left to connect the Plymouth of Victoria with the Plymouth of Queen Bess. It is not two years since the great, massive quadrangular mansion in which Merchant and Mayor Paynter is traditionally reported to have entertained Katharine of Arragon when she landed here in 1501—long known as Palace Court—was pulled down and replaced by a brand-new Board school; and, save the Notte Street house, we have not such another loss left to sustain. It is not a little singular, by the way, that while Plymouth has been the residence of many a worthy of ancient time, the dwellings of none of them are distinctly traceable. Paynter's connection with Palace Court is purely traditional. The Hawkinses for four generations were leading townsfolk, and for three held leading rank in English seamanship,

and all we know with certainty is that they lived somewhere near the present Parade—probably in Woolster Street, near the quays which they occupied in their mercantile capacities. The merchant branch of the Trelawnys (of Ham), however, without doubt lived in Looe Street, on the site of and in a house which was long the *Plymouth Herald* office, and is now tenanted. And hardly, it is all but certain, was the residence of the great Sir Francis Drake. Much confusion has arisen in regard to this matter, as with other parts of the family history, through confounding the original Sir Francis with the descendants of his brother Thomas, who, no way remarkable themselves, rejoiced in their borrowed plumes of Christian name and title; but within the past few weeks I have been able clearly to ascertain that Sir Francis was the owner of a house and spacious garden at the corner of Looe and Buckwell Streets, and of land opposite, at the corner of Peacock Lane; and his personal occupancy of this property, prior to his purchase of Buckland Abbey, hardly admits of doubt. There are no buildings of his time left upon the site; and it is only necessary further to point out that in his day some of what are now the most crowded localities of Plymouth were the most open, old deeds revealing the existence of extensive gardens where dwellings have been most thickly packed.

Only another antiquity claims notice—and of that I am reminded by the mention of the name of Drake—the fragmentary memorials in the walls of the waterworks in the Tavistock Road. These are really of four periods. The granite inscription, MADE IN THE MAIORALTIE OF IOHN TRELAWNIE, 1598, is part of the original Old Town Conduit of that date. The Portland stone carvings of arms and the reference to Drake bringing the water into Plymouth, belong to a second conduit made to replace the former, in the mayoralty, as set forth, of William Cotton, 1671. The granite trough of the drinking fountain does not, as might be and has been imagined from the inscription thereon, date back even to the later period, but only to 1747, when the original gutters of bricks and boards were replaced by wrought stone. The later inscriptions date themselves, but it may save future antiquaries some trouble if the origin of the older portions of the memorial is thus clearly indicated.

NOTES ON
THE "TABULA HONESTÆ MISSIONIS" FOUND
NEAR LIEGE.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(Read December 6, 1882.)

THOSE members of the British Archæological Association who were present at the evening meeting on 2nd March 1881, will call to mind the exhibition of a rubbing (kindly forwarded, with a short paper upon it, to us, by our valued member and Vice-President, Mr. C. R. Smith, F.S.A.) of a *Tabula Honestæ Missionis* found in the course of the year 1881 in the neighbourhood of Liége. As this related to British auxiliary troops, it naturally excited considerable interest among students of the Roman period of British history, and a hope was entertained that a plate might be procured for illustrating our *Journal*. Since that time a very exhaustive *brochure* has been written upon this relic by Dr. Adolf de Ceuleneer, Member of the Academy of Archæology of Belgium, etc., etc., and from that work I have derived a few notes which I propose to lay before the Association, with a photograph of the original diploma.

According to Dr. Ceuleneer, this imperfect bronze plate, 9 centim. long by 7 broad, was found by a workman on the banks of the Meuse between Chokier and Flémalle. It formed part of one of the usual two tablets or diptych, composing military diplomas, and as the formula of these are well known it is unnecessary to dilate upon that aspect of the relic. The reading of the inscriptions by Dr. Ceuleneer differs in some respects from that given by Mr. C. R. Smith in Vol. xxxvii, p. 94. We may, therefore, with propriety record it here for comparison:—

OUTER SURFACE.

[Imp^l. Cæsar . Divi Ner]VAE . F . NERVA . TRAIANVS
[Augustus . German]ICVS . PONTIFEX . MAXIMVS
[tribun .]POTEST . COS . II.

¹ The Roman type represents supplied and conjectural portions, the capitals the actual reading of the fragment.



[equitibus et peditib]VS QVI MILITANT . IN ALIS
 [duabus et cohortib]VS SEX . QVAE APPELLANTVR
 [...et classian (*seu* Petrian)] A . C . R . ET . I . TYNGRORVM
 [miliara . et . i . Astu]RVM . ET . I . HISPANORVM
 [equitata . et . i .] FIDA . VARDVLLORVM . C . R .
 [equitata . et . ii Li]NGONVM . ET II NERVIO
 [rum . et . sunt . in Brit]ANNIA SVB . T . AVIDIO
 [Nepote . item dimissis .] HONESTA . MISSIONE . A
 [Divo Nerva qui] QVINA . ET . VICENA PLVRA
 [ve stipendio merue]RVNT . QVORVM . NOMI
 [na subscripta sun]T . IPSIS . LIBERIS . POSTERIS
 [que eorum civitate]M . DEDIT . ET CONVBIVM
 [cum . uxoris qua]S TVNC HABVSSSENT . CVM
 [est civitas iis . data . aut . si qui . cælibes essent
 cum . iis . quas . postea . duxissent . dumtaxat . sin
 guli . singulis a . d

 ... cui præest

 Descriptum . et . recognitum . ex tabula . ae
 nea . quae . fixa . est Romae in muro post
 templum . Divi . Aug . ad Minervam]

INNER SURFACE (FIRST LEAF).

[Imp . Cæsar . Divi . Nervæ . f . Nerva . Trajanus
 Augustus . Germanicus . Pontifex . maximus
 tribun . potestat . cos . II . equitibus et
 peditibus qui militant . in alis duabus et
 cohortibus sex . que appellantur ... et
 Classiana (*seu* Petriana) c . r . et i Tungrorum . miliaria . et
 i . Asturum . et . i . Hispanorum equitata . et . i .]
 FIDA . VAR[dullorum . c . r . e] q[uitata et]
 II . LINGONVM . ET . II . NE[rviorum et . sunt]
 IN . BRITANNIA . SVB . T . AV[idio . item]
 DIMISSIS . HONESTA . M[issione . a . Divo . Nerva]
 NEPOTE¹ . QVI . QVINA E[t vicena pluraue sti]
 PENDIA MERVERVN[t . quorum . nomina]
 SVBSCRIPTA . SVNT [ipsis liberis poste]
 RISQVE . EORVM C[ivitatem dedit . et]
 CONVBIVM . CVM . VX[oribus . quas tunc]
 HABVSSSENT . CV[m est civitas iis]

(SECOND LEAF.)

[data, aut, etc., as before]

After discussing at length the character of other inscriptions of the Roman period, found in the country about Liège, Dr. Ceuleneer proceeds to examine the style or title of Trajan as found on this plate: "Imperator

¹ This word *nepote* seems out of place, if we compare the corresponding passage in the outer leaf.

Cæsar, Divi Nervæ filius, Nerva Trajanus, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, tribunicia potestate, Consul II", which alone afford data for fixing the age of the diploma. He sums up the result of his searches as follows :

"Sa première puissance tribunitienne date de l'automne 97; il la porte encore au 20 février 98; et au 14 août 99 nous avons la troisième. Donc c'est entre ces deux dates bien précises que vient se placer la seconde, car depuis la découverte du diplôme d'Insteius on ne peut plus admettre l'hypothèse de Borghesi qui croyait que Trajan avait renouvelé sa puissance tribunitienne le 28 janvier 98, date à laquelle il occupa le pouvoir sans partage. Les puissances tribunitiennes de Trajan dépassent le nombre d'années de son principat. Il en compte 21, et son principat va du 27 octobre 97 au 11 août 117. Les inscriptions datées pourront le mieux nous faire connaître quand Trajan n'attendit pas une année entière pour renouveler la puissance tribunitienne.

"Voici les dates que j'ai pu recueillir :

- "*Trib. pot.* I, 20 février 98, D.¹ 19.
 " " III, 14 août 99, D. 20.
 " " IV, 28 déc., 100. *Orelli*, 782.
 " " VII, 19 janvier, 103, D. 21.
 " " XI, 5 février, 108, C. I. L. iii, 79.
 " " XIII, 17 février, 110, D. 25.
 " " XVIII, 1 sept., 114, D. 26, *Henzen*, 6857a.
 " " XX, 8 sept., 116, D. 27, 28.

"En comparant ces chiffres on voit que c'est dans les premiers mois de l'année que la puissance tribunitienne est renouvelée. Nous avons même une date extrême, celle du 28 décembre de l'an 100. Si l'on possédait une inscription des premiers jours du mois de janvier, on aurait une preuve irréfutable que ce fut le 1er janvier de chaque année que Trajan renouvela sa puissance tribunitienne. On peut cependant certifier que ce fut Trajan qui rompit avec la tradition ancienne : il ne le fit pas du vivant de Nerva, ni directement après la mort de celui-ci, mais il l'avait déjà fait au 14 août 99.

"Nous croyons donc pouvoir dater avec certitude les trois premières puissances tribunitiennes de Trajan comme suit :

- "I. 27 oct., 97—26 oct., 98.
 II. 27 oct., 98—31 déc., 98.
 III. 1 jan., 99²—31 déc., 99.

"Dans la suite, il les renouvela chaque année au 1er janvier comme le prouvent un grand nombre d'inscriptions. C'est là du reste le résultat auquel était déjà arrivé M. Henzen dans une de ses savantes études épigraphiques. Notre diplôme date donc de l'an 98, et comme l'empereur n'y a pas encore le titre de "pater patriæ", qu'il prend sur diverses inscriptions de cette même année, nous pouvons dire que le diplôme est des premiers mois de l'an 98, mais postérieur au 28 janvier.

"Passons maintenant à l'examen des divers corps auxiliaires mentionnés dans notre diplôme.

¹ D. is used by Dr. Ceuleneer for Mommsen's *Corpus Inscript. Lat.*, iii.

² 97 by error in the tract.

“On peut certifier qu'il n'y avait que deux corps de cavalerie mentionnées sur le diplôme, par suite du peu de place restée libre. Un assez bon nombre de *alæ* étaient cantonnées en Bretagne. Le diplôme de 103 donne les *alæ*: 1 *Thracum*, 1 *Pannoniorum Tarpiana*, *Gallorum Sebosiana et Hispanorum Vettonum Civium Romanorum*. Il serait impossible de dire laquelle de celles-ci se trouvait mentionnée la première sur le diplôme.

“Du nom de la seconde il ne reste plus que A. C. R. Parmi les escadrons de cavalerie de la Bretagne il n'y en a que deux dont le nom soit terminé en *a* et qui soient composés de citoyens romains. Ce sont les *alæ classiana C. R.* et *petriana C. R.* La première est fort peu connue. On n'en possède pas une seule inscription; elle n'est citée que dans le diplôme de l'an 105.”

Passing over, for want of room, Dr. Ceuleneer's valuable list of “Corps auxiliares recrutés parmi les Belges et les peuplades limitrophes”, and his lucid explanation of the form and method of making the *tabulæ*, I shall conclude with the following sentences from his work:

“Le texte de la partie extérieure est ordinaire d'une exécution très-soignée. Dans le texte intérieur par contre l'écriture est mauvaise, quelquefois même presque illisible, comme c'est le cas pour le célèbre diplôme de Lyon de Gordien de l'an 243, si savamment publié par Baude de Vesme dans les Mémoires de l'Académie de Turin. L'écriture intérieure en est si mauvaise que Janin, n'y reconnaissant pas des lettres latines, avait cru à une traduction du texte latin en celtique.”

Dr. Ceuleneer then proceeds to point out the transposition of the word *nepote* to an incorrect place two lines below its correct place, and discusses the causes and probabilities of this error.

I wish here to point out to those interested in the palæography of the Rustic Roman capital characters (a consideration of which enters so largely into all endeavour to fix the date of the Utrecht Psalter, the text of which is in Rustic letter) how the forms of some of the letters in the *diploma* may be compared, with advantage, to the corresponding letters in that remarkable book.

The following original *tabulæ*, all of which possess remarkable palæographical features of the highest interest, are in the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities and Ethnography in the British Museum:—

1. The MALPAS Diploma.—Trajan to four *alæ* and eleven cohorts stationed in Britain. Dated 19 Jan. A.D. 103. Found, in 1812, in Malpas, Cheshire. Presented by Lord Kenyon. *Nearly perfect*. Figured in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*: London, 1875, pp. 3, 4.

2. The SYDENHAM Diploma.—Trajan to two *alæ* and eleven cohorts stationed in Britain. Dated A.D. 105. Found on Sydenham Common. Presented by Mr. Kerval. *Fragments*. Figured in the *Lapid. Septentr.*, p. 5.

3. The RIVELING Diploma.—Hadrian to six *alæ* and twenty-one cohorts stationed in Britain. Dated 15 September A.D. 124. Found at Riveling, near Stannington, Sheffield. *Fragments*. Figured in the *Lapid. Septentr.*, p. 7; Gough's *Camden*, 1806, vol. iii, p. 263.

4, 5. Two of Antoninus Pius to veterans in three *alæ* and eleven cohorts serving in Britain under Papirius Ælianus. Dated A.D. 164. Found at Chesters (Cilurnum), co. Northumberland. Presented by John Clayton, Esq., F.S.A., 1880. *Fragments*.

There is an imperfect *tabula* in the Huntingdon Museum.

To this very limited number of *tabulæ* in English hands, all students of British history during the Roman empire would earnestly desire to see added, if it were possible, the *Liège* diploma which has been so carefully elucidated by Dr. Ceuleneer. It appears to constitute the sixty-ninth *tabula* that has been hitherto put on record, of which Mommsen has published fifty-eight in his *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*, 1873; Renier, fifty-three in his *Recueil de Diplômes militaires*, Paris, 1876; and the *Ephem. Epigr.* and kindred works the remainder.

NOTES ON
THE CHURCHYARD OF ST. HILARY,
CORNWALL.

BY THE REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.

(*Read February 15, 1882.*)

THE history of an old English parish is an interesting subject. It is a local reflection of the history of England. During the present and eighteenth centuries, with a little trouble, and study of local documents, registers, and remains, it can be traced pretty clearly. The same may often be said of the seventeenth century, where not unfrequently quaint and characteristic vestiges of the civil wars and of the Restoration may be traced in the registers; and too frequently the Puritans have left their marks on the church fabric. If we look a century earlier, the Reformation and its effects are clear on nearly all our older parish churches; while as to the middle ages, though documentary evidence of the parochial history may usually be very incomplete, yet on the stone mullions, or pillars, or arcades, the archæologist may trace the history of the parish up to a certain point. What point? This varies according to circumstances. In some cases the parish church, the oldest edifice in the parish, is Later Pointed, and the vestiges of earlier edifices are imperfect, and difficult to trace. Not a few of our parishes have no tangible remains prior to, say the age of the battle of Agincourt; very many cannot date beyond the earlier Edwards; a vast majority have no clear records of the age of the Norman kings; and only a small per-centage, I believe, have tangible and undoubted traces in their buildings prior to the Norman conquest.

A churchyard with remains as old as the edict of Milan, which may have been carved by men contemporary with St. Alban, the proto-martyr of Britain, on which are inscribed the name and title of Constantine Augustus Cæsar, the Constantine the Great and first Christian Emperor of history and legend; another stone of the

Romano-British epoch ; a cross, probably of the Cornu-British age, prior to the Norman conquest,—possibly coeval with Saxon England ; in addition to mediæval and post-Reformation works, is, therefore, worth notice.

Such churchyards as this, I believe, are very rare. All these works are probably local, parochial ; carved probably by local workmen, of granite found on the spot, except one mediæval arch of North Cornish stone. There is no reason to suppose they are an artificial museum ; though possibly the “Constantine Stone” and the mysterious “Noti” Stone may have been removed from some neighbouring field, and either for superstitious reasons, or to preserve them, or perchance by mere accident, been built by the fifteenth century or earlier builders into the church wall where they were found. This custom of building ancient inscribed stones into church walls is not confined to St. Hilary. The curious tombstone of “Silus”, or “Silenis”, at St. Just, twelve miles distant, was, I believe, also found in the chancel-wall. For aught we know, there may be many other inscribed stones built into old Cornish church walls.

A few words on these interesting remains may not be out of place. The “Constantine Stone” deserves the pre-eminence for antiquity and importance. It is not distinctively, or indeed at all, Christian in design, and yet

P
F . L I . V . L
CONSTANTINO
PIO
DIVI
CONSTANTI
PII
A . . VST . .
FILIO

insensibly one feels the appropriateness of a Constantine Stone—a stone inscribed with the titles of Constantine the Great—in an old English, still more a Cornish parish church. I may say that Constantine is linked by many memories to mediæval Cornwall. His supposed birth in

Britain; his mention in the last discovered of the Cornish miracle-plays; his name adopted by one of the old Cornish kings and saints, *i.e.*, St. Constantine (who, it is just possible, may be more than a namesake, *i.e.*, a distorted personification of the Christian Emperor himself); all link Constantine with old British, and especially old Cornish history. The inscription which is given above is that which is found upon this ancient stone. There are, unfortunately, several lost letters in it, the loss being due to the effect of weather and wilful injuries.

The Noti Stone.—This is close to the churchyard-gate, on the left hand on entering. It was moved from the church wall to its present position. Its height is about 6 feet 3 inches, and so is much larger than the Constantine Stone. The latter has the appearance of a sort of milestone; but this is more like a little inscribed menhir. There are not a few inscribed menhirion in Cornwall. The Isnioc Stone is one; but the Menscryfa is probably the most famous. I remind the Association of it as we visited it in our Congress. The Cornish seem to have fixed menhirion to remember persons or events; but when they were taught by the Romans to write, they still put up these rude obelisks, but on them made inscriptions.

This "Noti" Stone is interesting, for the only part of it which is legible in Latin letters is utterly incomprehensible in any language of ancient Britain. As far as the Latin letters go (and they are rude enough), it is only "Noti! Noti!" which some propose to be Notus, son of Notus; or, if you will, "the Noti", sons of Notus. But nobody knows who Notus was; and I have grave doubts that this is more than the end of the inscription. It is the end, I think; for beyond (or rather below) the two "I's", the stone is rude and uncut, and looks as if it never had been inscribed. Not so the top; on each head of an inscription there seems a sort of a letter like a triangle. The thought has struck me whether there might not possibly be some connection with the Dianotus family, who seem at the end of the Roman conquest to have been chiefs or kings of Cornwall, and who are mentioned in connection with the semi-fabulous British princess, St. Ursula, of Cologne celebrity.

Having thus brought our illustrations, in actual remains, of the history of a Cornish parish up to the period of the independence of Cornwall under the native kings, we come to a third relic—probably *in situ*, or nearly so—a relic which brings before our mind one of the darkest, most confusing, yet most interesting periods of our British ecclesiastical history—I mean the Brito-Celtic church. A Celtic churchyard-cross with equal arms, like a Greek cross, and a circular glory around, fixed on a low pedestal. It is in admirable preservation, of good strong granite—possibly of the tenth century—pointing, if that be the case, to the time when the Saxons were struggling with the Danes, and when in Cornwall itself it might be doubted whether the Cornu-Britons might with Danish help retain their independence, or whether the West Saxon Thanes would conquer Cornwall and annex it to England. We thus have at S. Hilary three distinct periods marked out anterior to the Norman Conquest. 1. The Roman Age of Constantine; 2. The Romano-British epoch; 3. The Brito-Celtic tradition.

Nine-tenths probably of our parish churches have none of these Roman, Romano-British, or Saxon ages represented. But as to Norman, many are rich in remains; I need not remind you how rich. Here, curious to say, the link fails. There is no manifestly Norman relic here, nor indeed in any of the Penwith churches, except Lelant and probably Buryan. I am not so sure of Early English; but the old tower looks to me rather Decorated, with fine old granite gargoyles of quaint designs and rich windows.

The north doorway (saved from the fire) is Later Pointed, with a common square head and a very ordinary spear-shaped ornament. Thus the middle ages, though not so well represented as in most parish churches, are not entirely without remains in this curious parochial archaeological museum (the more curious because the collection appears unintentional), and in fact we have two distinct medieval periods before us. Nor is the eighteenth century unrepresented. The churchyard is particularly rich in old last century tombs of the well-known style, with an urn and coats of arms, which, also made of granite, may it is to be feared hand down to posterity the corrupt taste of the eighteenth century.

As to the nineteenth century, it contrasts favourably with its predecessor. Some of the modern tombs are pretty and designed on good mediæval models, while the church (which had almost entirely to be rebuilt after a fire) is to my taste one of the prettiest in Penwith, from a structural standpoint.

To sum up, I do not say that these remains are in themselves so remarkable, as that they are of peculiar interest in being grouped together. Most, perhaps all, of us have seen Roman inscribed stones, and there are few counties without some specimens. A stone of Constantine in itself would be interesting, but not wonderful. The "Noti" stone would be more curious for a stranger; but there are several Romano-British inscribed stones, and all more or less puzzling. The Celtic cross is one of a series of Cornwall's characteristic remains. The mediæval and modern remains are ordinary. None of these by themselves would be very remarkable, though both the Constantine and the "Noti" stone would be worth an archæologist's journey. But the grouping of all together in a narrow path of some twenty yards is striking, and I question if there are many, or any, which parish churchyards in England can offer. All England's history seems in stone before you, traced in granite, from the days of Flavius Valerius Constantine, son of Constantine Augustus, through the Romano-British age of inscribed menhirion, and the relics of the Brito-Celtic church, by the middle ages of chivalry and the latter end of the War of the Roses, down to the last century, and the revival of art in the latter part of our nineteenth century. All are local, all parochial, all of granite, and all probably nearly *in situ*.

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL FEATURES
OF THE RECENT
EXHIBITION OF THE HORNERS' COMPANY
OF LONDON

AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

(*Read 15 Nov. 1882.*)

THE Company of the Horners of London, with a view of encouraging technical education, with the kind permission of the Lord Mayor, held an exhibition of articles ancient and modern, British and foreign, made of horn, or of which horn is a component part, at the Mansion House, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of October last; and the Company invited the co-operation of members of the trade and others, including owners of articles of ancient and modern art and utility, in furthering the objects the Company had in view.

It is a curious coincidence, that without any premeditation on the part either of the Lord Mayor, or of the Company, the first day of exhibition was the Feast of St. Luke (the 18th October), the time on which "Horn Fair" at Charlton in Kent, granted by Henry III in the fifty-third year of his reign (A.D. 1268), was in later times held until its abolition in 1872. Very generously was the invitation of the Company responded to by members of the trade, and public and private owners of horn articles. From Her Majesty, who sent some interesting specimens from her treasures at Windsor Castle, including a trophy from the citadel of Rhodes; and the heads of the Committee of Council on Education, who sent from the Art Museum and Indian Collections of South Kensington and the Bethnal Green Museum, a splendid collection ranging over the 16th, 17th, 18th, and present centuries, both English and foreign, illustrative of the progress of manufacture and art, bearing on the special objects of the exhibition;—to private owners of ancient and modern works, some of them associates of our Society, who in

the most generous and confiding manner entrusted their treasures to the Company to aid them in the performance of the task they had undertaken.

The result far exceeded the most sanguine anticipations of the promoters of the undertaking. So great was the interest shown by the public that the Lord Mayor generously allowed the use of the Mansion House for an extra day (Saturday), and in the four days whilst the exhibition lasted, it was visited by no-less than 7,000 visitors.

It would be out of place to sum up the general features of the exhibition, or to point to the lessons which it teaches to trade and manufacture, or to those questions which are now being asked as to the status and utility of the ancient Guilds of the city; but the following remarks on the archæological features of that exhibition are submitted as a tribute of gratitude to those of my brother associates, as well as to those antiquarians outside our Society, who have so kindly assisted the Company in their endeavours; and in hopes that this paper may prove an interesting record not unworthy of a place in our Journal.

Foremost among these relics of antiquity were the exhibits of Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., who placed the whole of the works in horn in his extensive museum at the service of the Company, giving at the same time a carefully prepared descriptive catalogue of his one hundred and one articles, which forms a valuable portion of the catalogue published by the Company.

Of these works, eighteen consisted of implements made from the horns of red deer, reindeer, fallow deer, and roebuck in the prehistoric era, found at various times between the years 1865 and 1874, in different parts of London; and a mantle-pin formed of the brow antler of the red deer, notched on one side near the base to receive a cord or thong, found in a barrow of the stone period at Scarborough. Among the mediæval works were a portion of an ancient drinking horn found in Moorfields in February 1866; a Norman drinking cup of ox horn full $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, and nearly 3 in. in diameter at the mouth, found at a very considerable depth at the Steel Yard, Upper Thames Street, in 1864; an Esquimaux immochink, or drinking bowl, and

a scoop or cup made of the horn of the musk ox; old Scottish spoons of ram's horn made by an itinerating tinker; an interesting collection of ink horns of various dates from the eleventh to the seventeenth century found in various parts of London; a bracelet formed of a portion of the pointed end of a horn bent to fit a small wrist, the outer surface covered with a black cement, into which are pressed lines of white bugles formed of pieces of shells (a rare and early example of barbaric mosaic from Prince William's Sound); a collection of nine powder horns, including a German powder-flask wrought of stag's horn, the front carved in low relief with the crucifixion, on the dexter side of which is a kneeling figure in armour, and on the sinister side a horse; at the base of the cross is a skull resting on a thigh bone;—of the time of Hen. VIII. Another German powder horn flat-sided, representing the fore part of a dolphin with amber eyes, *temp. cir.* 1560. And a powder horn of various hues, black, white, and red, *temp. cir.* 1600. Among instruments of music is one described as an—

“Ancient *Lituus*, formed of a flattened ox horn of a brownish-green colour. The edge of the broad extremity is cut in vandykes, and the *embouchure* is concave, with a slightly-swelling rim. Recovered from the Thames off Vauxhall in 1850, a site which has yielded both Keltic and Roman skulls, and war relics of bronze and iron.”

Another musical horn, of a similar shape and material, was brought by Mr. Alfred A. Newman from a Jewish synagogue in London, where it was used in the religious festivals of the Jews, and called by them a shophar. The similarity of these horns raises a question of much interest: Whether the *lituus* of Mr. Cuming is a shophar? I reserve some remarks on this subject until I have disposed of the other objects to which I wish to call attention.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P., exhibited specimens of prehistoric, Saxon, and mediæval art. Among the former, all of which were found at different times and in different parts of London, were a bullock's horn ornamented with ancient bronze, most probably a symbol of Baal, found at Queenhithe in 1866; an incised pair of deer horns, and a pair of buck horns with marks of cutting instruments, found in September 1875 on the north bank of the Thames; a Saxon polished horn, used probably as a

trumpet, found in 1864 in Moorfields, with a Saxon spear and boss of a Saxon shield; a mediæval case for holding writing materials, *cir.* 1370-1400; several inkhorns of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; a horn book of date prior to 1600; portrait of Queen Anne in softened and moulded horn; and a portrait in cameo of the same queen; a powder horn of buffalo, presenting views of the then city of Philadelphia of the eighteenth century; an old Welsh tot found at Dolgelly; a horn-handled trooper's sword of the seventeenth century, found under a board in the roof of an old family farmhouse in East Kent; and an impression in horn of a dossier medal representing Henry V of England.

Mr. A. W. Franks, V.P., exhibited some beautiful medallions and boxes of horn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ten of which were by J. O. Brisset, including a box with the arms of Sir Francis Drake dated 1712, and others with the heads of Charles I, James II, William III, and Queen Anne and the Duke of Marlborough; a pair of medallions of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, and his wife Amelia, by John Osborn, an Englishman at Amsterdam, dated 1626; medallion of Henry IV of France, Louis XV and XVI of France; box with a view of Rouen; a French box engraved with the loves of Neptune and Melanthe; another with the tomb of Jean Jacque Rousseau, 1778; an oval amulet in the Byzantian style, engraved with sacred subjects (probably Russian); another with St. George (probably Russian); and a heart-shaped amulet for women in childbirth, with a head of the Virgin made from the hoof of an elk killed at Königsberg, Prussia, in the seventeenth century.

Mr. Charles J. Hill sent four finely carved drinking cups with old Augsburg mounts, formerly the property of the late Prince of Orange; and an oriental rhinoceros horn cup of the fifteenth century, all of which are now the property of Mr. Percy W. Doyle.

The collection of ancient hunting and drinking horns was probably the richest ever brought together at one time. It included the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, drinking horn of a buffalo, presented about A.D. 1347 to the college by its founder Alderman John Goldcorn. The Christ's Hospital drinking horn, the gift of Thomas

Banckes in 1602, probably seventy years older than its gift. The horn of the Hon. Society of the Middle Temple, used for summoning the members to dinner; the date of this horn is unknown, but it is supposed to have been in the possession of the Society from its foundation on the dissolution of the Knights Templars, in the reign of Edward II. The City of Canterbury Burgh mote horn (made of metal), fourteenth century. A Scandinavian drinking horn exhibited by Mr. John Evans, F.S.A. An antique Norwegian anointing horn, with a Scandinavian inscription, belonging to Mr. S. Samuel. A Norwegian Viking drinking horn exhibited by R. Dahl, Esq., believed to be of the time of King Harold Haarfager [*cir.* A.D. 870], who was the first to unite under one sceptre the numerous petty kinglets of western Scandinavia. These huge drinking horns were abolished by Olaf the Holy, who was educated at the court of Edward the Confessor, and who, on his ascending the throne of Norway, lent all his energies to root out the vice of drunkenness in his kingdom. He made a law prohibiting the construction and use of the drikkehorn, and enacting that small goblets, or beakers, should be used in its stead. This horn was the property of a Norwegian farmer until about twelve years ago, when it reverted to the Crown of Norway on the owner dying without kin, and it was sold to the present owner. It was called "The Horn of Luck", and there is a legend that it brought success to its possessor. A drinking horn exhibited by the Earl of Cawdor, mounted with silver, supported by a silver dragon and a greyhound, on an oval stand *repoussé* with flowers, snails, etc. David ap Evan, son of Roderick the Great, lived at Llwyndaffydd, in Llandisiliogogo; he entertained Henry, Earl of Richmond, with his men, on his expedition against Richard III, for which he was rewarded by the Earl with several presents, amongst them this drinking horn, since presented to Richard Earl of Carberry, and now the property of the Earl of Cawdor. A drinking cup of the horn of the wild ox, or buffalo, of Gisburne Park (now extinct), exhibited by Lord Ribblesdale, mounted with three silver gilt bands, inscribed in Gothic characters with Latin mottoes. 1. "Nollite extollere cornu in altu(*sic*).” 2. "Qui bibat me

adhuc siti(*sic*).” 3. “Qui pugnet contra tres perdet duo(*sic*) pedes.” It rests on three human legs. On the smaller end is a head of Bacchus. Two ancient hunting horns, and an ancient drinking horn (Swedish), exhibited by Lord Garvagh, with three new drinking horns, mounted in Stockholm (all of buffalo horn). They were collected by his lordship in Sweden and Norway in the winter of 1881-2. A rhinoceros horn cup, carved with flowers and leaves of Chinese work, silver rim, and of English mounting, inscribed “Ellane Butler, Countess of Ormonde and Ossorie, 1628.” And a buffalo’s horn, the wide mouth mounted in a gilt band with Gothic inscription. Swedish or Norwegian, of the fourteenth century, partially carved with an arrow-like ornament. Exhibited by the Rev. Walter Sneyd, Keele Hall, Stafford.

Horn books constituted an interesting feature in the exhibition, there being no less than eight in number, inclusive of that already mentioned as exhibited by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, the printing on which was illegible from its having lain buried in the ground. The most perfect specimens of these books were a pair exhibited by Mr. Noble, in perfect preservation, and one by the late Sir Charles Reed’s executors, containing an illustrated alphabet in addition to the usual examples of monosyllables, and Lord’s Prayer.

One of the gems of the exhibition was a small cup made of part of a cow’s horn, which was exhibited by Col. Lenox Prendergast, and was purchased by him at Rome about twenty years ago. It is beautifully chased and carved with figures of the Virgin Mary and Child, the angels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, and St. Faith. The base has a serpent carved on it, with the date A.D. 1346 in Arabic numerals. This is interesting as shewing the use of these numerals at so early a date, as, though they are supposed to have been introduced into Italy from the East about A.D. 1202, they did not come into general use until the invention of printing.

Miss Kemshead exhibited a horn snuff-box mounted in gold, formerly belonging to Gen. Monck, Duke of Albermarle; and a horn cylindrical box containing a Persian MS. on a scroll; both of which articles are submitted for your inspection this evening by her kind permission.

Mr. George G. Adams, F.S.A., exhibited a forester's horn, which he has also brought this evening for inspection; and Mr. Henry Kettal exhibited an engraved shoe-horn of the date A.D. 1604, a snuff-box with a profile of Queen Ann, and an antique drinking cup.

Mr. Alfred A. Newman, of No. 19, Maddox Street, exhibited a German buck powder horn, mounted in iron, curiously carved with hunting scenes, of the date *cir.* A.D. 1550, and a shophar, or ram's horn of a flattened and curved shape, from the synagogue of St. Bevis Marks. The similarity of this shophar with the horn exhibited by Mr. Syer Cuming, and described by him as an ancient lituus, is so evident that a very interesting question is raised, which, with the assistance of that gentleman and Mr. Newman, I will now do my best to solve.

The classic lituus was a staff of office, described by Cicero¹ as "*incurvum et leviter a summo inflexum bacillum*", a small staff curved and lightly bent from the top.² It is mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* l. vii, v, 187, *et seq.*, as used by Picus, and called Lituus Quirinalis.

"Ipse Quirinali lituo parvâque sedebat
Succinctus trabeâ lævâque ancile gerebat
Picus equum domitor."

Romulus used such a staff, and after his time it was used as a divining staff by the Augurs; and Livy, in describing the inauguration of Numa Pompilius, calls it "*baculum sine nodo aduncum*".³ It was also the name given to a musical horn or trumpet curved at the end. *Aulus Gellius* (v. 8) suggests whether the name was given to the trumpet from its being curved like the Augur's staff, or whether the staff was so called from the trumpet, and if so, he says it is derived from the Homeric expression.⁴ As a martial horn it is referred to by Horace in his ode to Mæcenas, and distinguished from the *tuba*.

"Multos castra juvant et lituo tubæ
Permistus sonitus, bellaque matris
Detestata."

Acro states that the lituus was the cavalry trumpet,

¹ *De Div.*, 17.

² Müller, *Die Etrusker*, iv, l. 5, supposes it to be an Etruscan word signifying crooked.

³ *Lib.* i, c. xviii.

⁴ *Il.*, iv, 125.

and the tuba belonged to the infantry, and this is borne out by Virgil's splendid description of the horse in the third *Georgic*, l. 179, *et seq.*

"Primus equi labor est, animos atque arma videre
Bellantûm, *lituosque* pati, tractuque gementem
Ferre rotam, et stabulo frēnos audire sonantes."

The lituus was also used as the sacerdotal trumpet, and its tones were harsh and shrill—"stridor lituûm",¹ "sonitus acutos."²

It is clear from these references that the lituus, whether as a staff of office or as a musical instrument, was essentially a curved implement; and it was only natural that, on the discovery of Mr. Syer Cuming's relic, found as it was among Keltic and Roman remains, it should be taken to be a specimen of the ancient lituus. When Mr. Cuming's exhibits were returned, at the close of the Horners' Exhibition, I drew his attention to the similarity between his lituus and the shophar, and he gave his reasons for adhering to his belief that his horn was a lituus, as follows:—

"The lituus-shaped trumpet which attracted some notice at the late Exhibition of Articles of Horn at the Mansion House, was recovered from the Thames off Vauxhall in 1850, together with a *Tuba* formed of a straightened ox horn, some 14 inches in length and 2 inches diameter at the larger end. I know not what became of this *Tuba*, but I well remember that its surface was peeling off in flakes, and that it was of a grayish-black hue. The bell of the trumpet held by a *Liticen* given by Rich appears to be round; that of the example discovered in the Witham, near Tattershall, Lincolnshire, seems to be somewhat quatrefoil; whilst the two litui shewn on Roman consular coin have their bells in the shape of dragons' heads. On a bas-relief in the Vitaleschi Palace at Rome is a figure blowing what has been termed a *double Lituus*, which is as primitive in its contour as the horn from the Thames. Calmet represents a *Shawn*, which looks like an ox horn in its natural form, with the *embouchure* and bell mounted with

¹ "Constitit ut capto jussus deponere miles
Signa foro, stridor lituûm, clangorque tubarum,
Non pia concinuit cum rauco classica cornu.
Rupta quies populi."

(Luc., *Phars.*, i, 236-9.) The *lituus*, *tuba classica*, and *cornu*, are all mentioned here.

² *Ennius apud Fest.*, s. v. Smith (*Dict.*, lit. *lituus*), citing Müller (*Die Etrusker*, iv, l. 5), where he gives a representation of the musical *lituus* from Fabretti.

metal. In Dr. Hard's *Religious Rites and Ceremonies of all Nations* is an engraving of the *Jewish Ceremony of Sounding the Horn on the New Year's Day*. The horn here introduced is of the lituus type, but the bell, instead of being cut straight across as in the Thames trumpet, turns up towards the *embouchure*, so that the Rabbi would seem to look into the instrument, and hence it may be compared, in some degree, with the lituus given by Fabretti. Fancying that the Thames horn bore a slight resemblance to the one shewn in Hurd's *Religious Rites*, I asked the late Solomon Drach if it could possibly be a New Year's Trumpet, when he at once said, 'O no! our horn is a very different thing, we could not use such a one as this; ours is not flat but round.' Can the *Shophar* differ in form in different synagogues? The Thames at Vauxhall is a most unlikely spot to yield any ancient Hebrew relics, whilst it is the very place that has furnished bronze and iron weapons, and crania of both Kelts and Romans; I am therefore far more inclined to regard our horn trumpet as a classic *Lituus* than as a Jewish *Shophar*, although the likeness of one to the other is undeniable."

When Mr. Newman saw Mr. Cuming's lituus, he claimed it at once for a shophar, and from its being found in the bed of the Thames thought it most probable to be an esteemed and rare relic of the first period of the Jews in England, prior to their banishment under Edward I in 1290. The only other tangible relics of the Jews known besides this, of that period, are: (1), the bronze pot in the Bodleian Library; (2), Moses Hall at Bury St. Edmunds; and (3), the Jew's House, Lincoln. From whichever point of view therefore we consider the question now raised, it is full of the greatest interest. *Shophar* is a Hebrew word signifying a horn; perhaps so called from its being hollowed out, the root, according to some philologists, being *shaphar*, to hollow out. It is used by the Jews in religious ceremonies: on the Festival of the New Year (the Feast of Trumpets mentioned in Numbers, xxix, 1) two days; on the evening of the Great Fast Day; on Purim or the Feast of Esther; and on the occasion of the death of a chief Rabbi, in the burial-ground; the last occasion being on the death of the Rev. Dr. Artoun, chief of the Portuguese congregation, who died some two years ago.

In the treatise *Rosh Hashanah*, from the *Mishna*, it is said every kind of horn may be used (as a shophar or cornet) on the Feast of New Year, excepting that of a cow. The cornet used in the temple on the feast of the new year was a straight horn of a chamois, the mouthpiece

of which was covered with gold; the two trumpets¹ were stationed on each side. On the fast days two crooked ram's horns were used, whose mouthpieces were covered with silver, and the two trumpets were stationed in the middle between them. R. Jehudi says on the Feast of New Year a ram's horn was sounded; and in *Modern Judaism*, by John Allen, speaking of the Festival of the New Year, which includes the first and second days of Tisri, in the morning service, after the lessons from the law and the prophets, they blow a trumpet or cornet, which is required to be made of ram's horn, in memory of the ram which was substituted for Isaac on Mount Moriah.

I have not been able to find any information of what material the lituus was composed, and on enquiring at the British Museum I could not find that there was a specimen there, nor is it mentioned by Mr. T. Wright in his *Kelt, Roman and Saxons*. I have submitted Mr. Syer Cuming's horn to one of the members of the firm of Kain and Son of Wimpole Street, manufacturers in horn, who obtained a prize at the Horners' Company's Exhibition, and he pronounced it to be a ram's horn. This fact, taken in conjunction with the circumstance of its being found with a straight horn or trumpet made of horn, is strong evidence in favour of its being a shophar, and the straight horn a cornet used with it, as described in the reference above made from the treatise from the *Mishna*. I have also ascertained from the department of British Antiquities in the British Museum, that they draw no reliable conclusions from the fact of anything being found in close proximity with others in the bed of the Thames, unless there are special circumstances to warrant them. These facts, taken in conjunction with the identity of Mr. Syer Cuming's horn with a shophar at present in use in a Jewish synagogue, leads to a very strong presumption that this horn is a shophar, though Mr. Newman's conclusion that it is a relic of the early settlement of the Jews in England, is to some extent shaken by the unreliableness attached to the relics found in the bed of the Thames.

¹ The silver trumpets mentioned in Numb. x, 1.

British Archaeological Association.

THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING, PLYMOUTH, 1882,

MONDAY, AUGUST 21ST, TO SATURDAY THE 26TH,
WITH EXTRA DAYS.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 21, 1882.

THE Annual Congress commenced at Plymouth this day. At noon the members were received by the Mayor in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall Buildings, which, in addition to some historical portraits, contains the magnificent picture of "The Execution of Lady Jane Grey", which the artist, Mr. Solomon Hart, R.A., a short time ago presented to the town. The Mayor (Mr. C. F. Burnard) wore his robes and insignia of office, and was supported by magistrates, aldermen, and councillors, among whom were Captain Julian, Captain Inskip, R.N., Messrs. W. F. Moore, H. J. Waring, I. Latimer, R. C. Serpell, J. King, T. Pitts, John Marshall, F. A. Morrish, T. J. Stevens, T. W. Lansdown, E. James, J. Wainwright, A. S. Harris, J. A. Bellamy, E. Roseveare, John Stevens, N. Barker, C. H. Walter, T. Jinkin, J. F. Mortimer, T. C. Brian (Borough Coroner), G. D. Bellamy (Surveyor), and G. G. Davey (Borough Treasurer and Chamberlain).

Among the members of the Association present at this day's proceedings were, Sir James A. Picton, F.S.A.; Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer and Vice-President*, and Miss Morgan; Mr. E. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*; Mr. Francis Brent, *Hon. Local Secretary*; Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A.; Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*; Mr. Walter Myers, F.S.A.; Mr. B. Hicklin; Mr. G. Allen; Mrs. Abbot; Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds, Redlands, Bristol; Mr. William H. Cope; Colonel J. R. Bramble; Mr. W. Wilding, Montgomery; Mr. James Matthew, London; Mr. and Mrs. John Bush; Mr. and Mrs. Hunt; Mr. Edward Bush; Mr. Robert Taylor; Mr. and Miss Williams; Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A.; Mr. C. E. Ponting; Mr. P. Prankert; Mr. B. and Mrs. Nathan; Rev. W. L. Lach-Szyrma; Mr. R. Chafey-Chafey; Mr. H. J. W. Swayne, Recorder of Wilton; Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Moore; Mr. John Williams and Miss Maud Williams, Bristol; Mrs. R. Matthew, London; Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A.; Mr. W. Essington Hughes, Miss Percy Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Grain, London; Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Compton, London; Mr. Compton, jun., and Miss Compton; Mrs. Charles Lam-

bert and Miss Lambert ; Rev. Alexander Taylor, M.A., London ; Mr. C. Lynam ; Mr. and Miss Montgomery ; Mrs. Miall ; Mr. W. H. and Mrs. Alger ; Colonel Briggs ; Mr. T. R. A. Briggs, F.L.S. ; Colonel M'Laughlin ; Mr. Crofton L. M'Laughlin ; Mr. Capper Pass ; the Rev. J. E. Risk ; Mr. and Mrs. Moore Hyde ; and the Mayor of Devonport, Mr. G. T. Rolston.

The Mayor read the letter of invitation signed by the Chamberlain who wrote on behalf of the Mayor : " I am requested to say that he will take it as a personal favour if as many magistrates and members of the Town Council as can make it convenient will attend to support him on this occasion." The Mayor continued : " I thank you for the response you have made to the invitation. From some of our body I have received letters of regret at their enforced absence on this interesting occasion. Mr. President, ladies, and gentlemen of this archæological Congress, you see on my left a fair representation of the magistrates, aldermen, and councillors of this ancient borough. These now meet you here for the purpose of most cordially greeting, and of heartily welcoming you to this our fair town of Plymouth. Accordingly, this greeting and this welcome I now tender to you, not only on behalf of the Council, but also of the whole town. Permit me to say, in my representative character, that we form a high estimate of the importance of those researches which form the special features of your studies. It is evident, from the very nature of them, that you must bring to bear upon your pursuits a high degree of trained as also of disciplined knowledge ; for I take it that the science of archæology can only attract a certain order of mind, and that necessarily of a highly cultivated character. As one who is certainly without the area of your attainments, yet sufficiently near to see and appreciate the important teachings, or, so to speak, the philosophy underlying, say, the finding of a worked flint or an old bone, while I cannot follow, yet can profoundly respect and hail with satisfaction your discoveries and all the fair and legitimate theories you build upon them. Sure I am that, from your accumulations of facts, that is, of knowledge ; from your further advances,—aye, and from the clashing of your theories, wild as they sometimes appear to be,—light will break forth, while truth will fix itself on a broad and solid base. I see, from your programme, that there has been designed for you a rich harvest. May you reap it fully ! May much healthy enjoyment wait on your laudable labours ! You have honoured us by coming here into a district most beautiful in its physical features, the feet of whose hills are bathed by the ocean, while their tops reflect the rays of the rising or the setting sun, and yet anon are found battling with the fury of Atlantic storms,—a land of broad rivers and of rushing streams, of mountain and valley ; here wondrous in its fertility, there almost savage in its barrenness ; and

above, a sky marvellous in its changeful moods, and dear to the artist's eye. Of its archæological attractions I dare not speak. The great moor of Devon, so unique, so sublime in its solitariness, still bears upon its sides much that will attract you. But all these things I leave to those far abler men who have undertaken to be your guides in your intended excursions. And what shall be said of this our town, so rich in its history and traditions, associated with so many great and noble names? Suffice it that Plymouth's historian will be your efficient and faithful guide. Ladies and gentlemen, I again bid you a hearty welcome."

Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, said: "In receiving your welcome, Mr. Mayor, to the ancient borough of Plymouth, it devolves upon me as the Treasurer of the British Archæological Association, to say what I very much wish could have been said by our President, His Grace the Duke of Somerset, who, I am sorry to say, is prevented by illness from coming amongst us. We have only lately heard that he is prevented from favouring us with his presence; and our disappointment is only allayed by the fact that our friend Sir James Picton has very kindly come down to take his place, which I have no doubt he will do with much ability. Still our disappointment must be great that we have not the advantage of an address from a nobleman not only so generally gifted, but particularly gifted in the antiquarian lore of this county. The address of the President has generally been given at our dinner; and although it was at first arranged differently, it is now proposed that Sir James Picton shall follow the usual course. I have, however, now a few words to say on my own account. You, Mr. Mayor, have, in the name of the town welcomed us to Plymouth, and notwithstanding your disclaimer, you have proved to me you are a great archæologist in yourself. I shall not refer to any of those great features of history which bind Plymouth with the history of the British nation. The Mayor has said that he would not trust himself to refer to them, they are so important and so numerous, and much less will I do so. But I will just refer, in two or three words, to the great antiquity of this borough. I know that at a remote period it had some connection with the abbots of Plympton; but still Plymouth has claim to antiquity on its own account. Her charters, I believe, go back to Edward IV, and therefore into mediæval times; and the Corporation of this town, besides the usual privileges of markets and fairs, and that kind of thing, possessed a "cucking-stool". I do not know whether you would go so far as to call that stool into requisition; whether, if any lady of Plymouth had a longer tongue than usual, and annoyed her neighbours, you, Mr. Mayor, would have her placed upon that stool to have a gentle dip into the Plym or the Tamar. The ladies present smile. Perhaps they

think there may be some among the other sex who more thoroughly deserve a dipping; therefore I will not inflict upon you a longer speech myself. I am sure it gives the Society great pleasure to meet here, and to see ourselves surrounded by so many eminent men of Plymouth,—men eminent in science and in other ways, who belong to societies of which I am happy to say Devonshire may well be proud. Though they are not of ancient date, they are doing their work most admirably.”

The Mayor added that he was sorry his duties would not permit of his giving them much attention, or of his attending many of their meetings. He had to mention a little circumstance perhaps of peculiar interest to them. The Corporation of Plymouth were about to make an extensive reservoir at the Weir Head, on the Moor; and finding there were ancient remains there, he (the Mayor) took an opportunity, through the courtesy of the surveyor, to go up and see the place. He discovered more than he apprehended, and he asked the surveyor to prepare a map of them, which he had kindly done, and the map could be seen on the table of the Mayor's parlour.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, also added a few words, and the party then proceeded across the Square to the Guildhall, led by the Mayor, and preceded by the Corporation mace-bearers. There the Mayor took his leave.

The first business was the inspection of the historical windows, the subjects of which were briefly explained by Mr. R. N. Worth. There was a general agreement of opinion that while the series were of interest and merit, the Siege Window in particular was of extraordinary excellence.

Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A., followed with remarks upon the corporate insignia and plate, which were displayed on a table on the platform. The maces, which were of the date of Queen Anne, were large and handsome, and of the usual type; but with a few peculiar details, such as the introduction of the Westminster portcullis. Probably they had been made after the pattern of others. Of the two cups, one was of great beauty. An inscription set forth that it was the gift of John White in 1585, and according to the mark it was made in 1562. The other was the gift of Sir John Gayer (according to the inscription) in 1648, but the mark was nearly fifty years later. He could not understand this, unless the old cup had been replaced by another of later origin. The Mayor had kindly sent them his chain and medal also. The latter bore the date of 1803, but the age of the chain was not apparent.

Mr. Worth replied, that whatever the mark might be, there was really no doubt that the Gayer Cup was the original of 1648. The Union Cup had especial interest in the fact that it had been used by

Hawkins, Drake, Howard, Frobisher, Raleigh, and in fact all the Elizabethan heroes. The chain and medal were given in 1803, to commemorate the assertion by the commonalty of their right to elect the Mayor. Mr. Worth then read a paper on the borough records, which will be printed hereafter.

Sir James Picton thanked Mr. Lambert and Mr. Worth for their valuable remarks, and expressed his sense of the value of investigations into the municipal archives. He hoped that the example set by Liverpool would be followed, and important local records committed to the custody of print.

An adjournment was then made for lunch, after which the party re-assembled at the Guildhall to inspect objects of antiquarian interest, under the guidance of Mr. Worth, F.G.S., President of the Plymouth Institution. At the Guildhall the Corporation portrait of Drake and the (presumed) portrait of Sir John Hawkins attracted interest; and among the muniments, the Charters, the Black Book, and the lately recovered book of Receiver's accounts.

From the Guildhall the party proceeded to St. Andrew's Church, and this grand old typical Perpendicular fabric was greatly admired. Mr. Worth recounted the chief points in its history, and stated that what was believed to be the only fragment left of the preceding twelfth century church, was now preserved at the Athenæum. A transitional arch was found in pulling down the old almshouses. The present building is wholly of Perpendicular date. Mr. Brock followed with notes on the architecture of the church, one of the finest illustrations in existence of the Devonshire Perpendicular granite churches. No doubt, he said, it once had a screen of fitting dignity and beauty, but all remains of that had long disappeared. (Mr. Worth explained that half a century ago the fabric had undergone "destruction" at the hands of Mr. Foulston.) The great difficulty he had was to make the characteristics of the architecture of some portions of the building agree with their assigned dates. The dates differed, but the style did not. He thought, however, that the noble tower was clearly of the date given—1460. This was the common characteristic of Devonshire churches. There was, too, the same remarkable similarity in the mouldings which ran through the churches in the county.

The "Abbey", so called, was then inspected from the churchyard, and Mr. Worth stated that he had been fortunate enough recently to obtain very good evidence that it was not an abbey at all, but the old "prysten" or clergy house of the town. Rent was paid to the Corporation for the "prysten-house" in the reign of Henry VI; and at a much later date, early in the sixteenth century, there was a record of a grant by the Corporation to "Sir" Thomas Flyte, charity priest of the "prysten-house", for life, in consideration of his outlay in repairing

the kitchen. Mr. Brock agreed with Mr. Worth that this was a reasonable solution of the "Abbey" problem, and referred to a subterranean passage under the churchyard. There was no doubt that this passage led into a crypt beneath the chancel.

The members then walked in a body to Charles Church, and here again Mr. Worth offered a few general facts by way of information, and expressed a very strong belief that, as an example of post-reformation, the Gothic building had no example in the kingdom. Mr. Brock adopted this view, and said examples of this class of church were few and far between, and had here an illustration of how the Gothic style lingered in the country. They had also another instance of the way in which the local architects caught and copied the features of the cathedrals in their respective counties, the geometrical windows being a reflection of those at Exeter. In the course of conversation light was thrown on a curious point by Mr. Evans, the parish clerk. Mr. Brock pointed out that the church appeared in some records as having been dedicated to Charles the Martyr, although it was built in the lifetime of the King, who had been so dedicated by posterity. Mr. Evans explained that the name of Charles the Martyr, crept in through the inadvertence of his predecessor, who so styled it in official documents. Since the error had been noticed, however, "the Martyr" had been expunged from the title of the church. General gratification was evinced at the fact that the famous author of "The Daily Portion", Dr. Hawker, was befittingly memorialized by a bust, and Mr. Lambert paid a tribute to the memory of Mr. Tracey, whose face they were also enabled to gaze upon, as the man who inaugurated a more humane mode of treatment for the prisoners of war detained in this borough.

The next point of interest was the old Dominican monastery in Southside Street, now and for a long time occupied by Messrs. Coates and Co. as a distillery, and a fine ancient roof was inspected.

Rapid progress was now made to Looe Street, and Mr. Worth having led the body of visitors to this point, explained that up to sixty years since Looe Street contained the residences of the principal townsmen. For some time, continued Mr. Worth, the residence of Sir Francis Drake had been a moot point, but recent discoveries enabled him to state authoritatively that the house in which the great circumnavigator lived stood on the site of the dwellings forming the juncture of Buckwell and Looe Streets, the garden fronting on to the former. Not a vestige of the original house remained. They could see for themselves, however, that the buildings which now occupied the site were of a much more modern date. The Trelawns also lived in Looe Street, and Sir Richard Hawkins had a house there called the "Parrett".

The day's wanderings were brought to a close by a visit to the Cottonian Library, where a cursory glance, for time did not permit more, was taken of the art collection there contained, and of its handsome quarters. On the way to Cornwall Street Mr. Worth pointed out the Elizabethan house in Notte Street. He was glad to state that while they had lost—he was about to say within a few years—nearly all their old landmarks, picturesque gabled houses, and the stately quadrangle once visited by Katharine of Arragon, and Palace Court, this finest of all their domestic examples was in hands that would guard it heedfully. Its owners, Messrs. Bulteel and Co., of the Naval Bank, not only intended to preserve it with all care, but were about to complete the façade on each side with buildings of kindred character. This statement was received with applause. While passing up St. Andrew's Street, the still fairly preserved picturesque character of that ancient street, and the view of the church and abbey at the top, was admired.

The site of Palace Court was pointed out in passing, the site of the Plymouth China Works in High Street was shown, as was also, by Mr. Francis Brent, the site of the old Custom House, which—for nearly two centuries, and up to fifty years ago—served the purposes of the important port of Plymouth.

A brilliant company was present at the opening dinner, served at the New Guildhall in the most satisfactory manner by Messrs. Watts, the proprietors of the Globe Hotel. The chair was occupied by Sir James A. Picton, F.S.A. On the removal of the cloth, the President delivered his inaugural address, which has been printed before at pp. 1-11.

TUESDAY, 22ND AUGUST.

The members and visitors met at the North Road Railway Station, and, at a quarter past nine, proceeded by special South-Western train to Horrabridge. The weather at the start was beautifully fine, and the party was a larger one than anticipated, of whom a fair proportion were ladies; and when they arrived at Horrabridge the wagonettes sent out from Tavistock were found not sufficient to accommodate everyone. Some gentlemen, consequently, had to stay behind and wait for another wagonette, while the main body of the party went towards Buckland Abbey. Here they alighted. Going down through one of the avenues of trees which lead to the Abbey, the barn was first reached—a spacious, substantially built structure, with buttressed walls and high-pitched roof.

Every stone of the work is original, although the building was stated by Mr. Brock to be probably later than the original foundation of the abbey. An adjournment was then made to the house itself, where Mrs. and Miss Bundock very charmingly received the visitors. The peregrination through the rooms was interesting, the walls being covered with engravings, depicting the various incidents in the destruction of the Armada, the staircase being adorned with a grand old portrait of the Spanish Admiral, who was taken prisoner and confined in the Abbey, while in the drawing-room was a portrait of Drake, which was said to be so famous as a work of art that were the Abbey otherwise uninteresting, the fact of such a picture being there would have compensated amply for the making a pilgrimage to the spot. The visitors were here invited to partake of some refreshment, and a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded Mr. Bundock and his family for their pleasant welcome. During the stay Mr. Brock read a paper on the Abbey, of which the following is an abstract.

"It is seldom that the members of the British Archæological Association, have had the advantage, in former annual gatherings, of inspecting the remains of so varied a number of the houses of the Religious Orders, once so numerous in our land, as are arranged for inspection now. Here at Buckland the site plainly shows us, in its low-lying valley beside a stream, that we are on the site of an Abbey of Cistercians. We may, therefore, trace around us the surroundings of that austere Order, which deemed it could win the Divine favour better than its fellows by a life so ably epitomised by our local treasurer, Mr. Brooking Rowe.¹ The picture of religious life which he draws is one that might be drawn at almost every site of a religious house in England. I, for one, rejoice that the Reformation at length removed the burden of this false system from the minds of devout men seeking to live according to the mind of their Creator. Their vows once taken were for life, and a runaway monk could be brought back and punished by imprisonment. The history of the rise, progress, and decay of this Religious Order in England is, perhaps, the most instructive of all the Orders. Soon after its introduction its houses were multiplied from end to end of our land, and it soon took an important position among the older establishments. The austerity of its rule, however, soon limited the foundation of fresh houses, until the early part of the fourteenth century witnessed that of the last one. It is probable, too, that at the dissolution the houses of this order were more empty than many of the others. There were but the abbot and twelve monks here at that time. The orientation of the church is

¹ See the *Cistercian Houses of Devon*, p. 9, by J. Brooking Rowe, F.S.A. Plymouth, 1878.

E.N.E. The list of the abbots recorded by Dugdale has but ten names; but this number is now increased to sixteen by Mr. Rowe's researches.

"Buckland Abbey was founded by Amicia, the wife of William, Earl of Albemarle. The site, acquired from her daughter Isabella, was confirmed to the monks by King Edward I in 1275, and she signed the foundation deed in 1280. The monks for the new colony were brought from Quarr Abbey in the Isle of Wight, and we at once find evidence of the jealousy of episcopal rule not unfrequently observable in the monastic orders. These dates show to us that Buckland Abbey is among the latest foundations of the order in England. Of its further history there is but little to add, and this house is, therefore, another example of those of which it may be said that it has no history, except the record of its foundation and of its dissolution. This is not to be wondered at when we consider the nature of the order and its position, far away, excepting the few contiguous villages, from any large centre of human life. It is a curious fact in relation to the churches of the Cistercian Order that hardly one is now used for Divine Service. Wreck and ruin have fallen on many a fair building of the other orders, but yet many were retained at the dissolution. This is, doubtless, owing to the fact that the sites were still away from the population in the sixteenth century almost as much as at the time of the foundation. None being wanted for use, the churches were demolished for the sake of the material only. Here, at Buckland, we have a curious and unusual example of its retention. While destruction has fallen on the domestic buildings, which were in other places so frequently retained, here the church was kept standing, and was converted into a dwelling-house. We are within it now. The outer walls are for the most part those of the sacred fabric, and I see no reason to doubt but that they are parts of the building as originally erected. The plan is peculiar for a Cistercian Church. It consists of a spacious nave, which has no aisles, and has never had any. A low central tower, which is still intact at the crossing—if that term can be used here—where there is but a single transept on the south side, and no north transept. Present appearances are against the supposition that there has been a north transept, but the fact can only be determined by excavation. The south transept is now ruined, but its outline can be well made out, and its form is shown in the view of the Abbey by the Brothers Buck, 1734, when it was standing. There is also the usual short presbytery to the east, rather less than the usual square on plan, the breadth being a little more than the depth. On the north side a vestry or chapel extends up to the east end from the east line of the tower, and ends square with the east end. It is approached from the presbytery by a small square chamber at the west. The fine and

once open arches of the tower may be traced here and there, where they are not covered over by the walls and floors of the modern house. They are Pointed, and of three plainly chamfered orders, that to the presbytery being lower than the others. The original arrangements of the church are as anomalous as its present appropriation, and it is sufficient to show that the establishments of the Cistercians were not always on the same unvarying plan as some believe. The anomaly of the position of the domestic buildings, such as the cloisters, chapter house, etc., too, at Buckland is very apparent, for they have been on the cold and sunless north side of the church rather than on the south as is usual. The church appears to have been adapted to its present use as a dwelling-house in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and there are many objects of interest of that date remaining in it. Apart from the well-known portrait of that worthy hero of old England, Sir Francis Drake, who lived here for many years, and whose descendants still own it, there is a curious chimney-piece with his arms in the Tower. It is later than his time, since it bears the date 1655. Much of the carving in the hall is said to have been brought from other old manor houses—Durance and Callisham—by members of the Drake family. Over the fireplace is the date 1576, and the hall has all the characteristics of this date. It is a fine example of Elizabethan architecture, still much the same as it must have existed in the time of Sir Francis Drake. It is most probably the work of Sir Richard Grenville, and a portion of the fair house which Risdon speaks of his having erected here."

The party then perambulated the grounds, noticing a fragment or two of monastic date, and particularly a pretty slender tower of fourteenth century date, of unusual occurrence in a Cistercian monastery, probably a portion of the works of defence, licence to crenellate the Abbey having been granted in the eleventh year of Edward III.

The company then rejoined the carriages and proceeded to the picturesque village of Buckland, almost every house of which, as Sir James Picton pointed out, contains some traces of the hand of the mediæval builder. The church was the central point of interest; and in it Mr. Brock made some interesting remarks.

The church is different from the usual type of Devonshire churches from the fact that it has transepts to the north and to the south, and that there is a chancel arch with a smaller chancel than the nave. In most of the county churches, the roof is continuous, but here it is different. The work here, too, has a fragment of an earlier church at the west end of the nave. It is entirely built of granite, and the traceries are deeper and more sharply defined than is usually found in Devonshire edifices. On the whole, Mr. Brock congratulated the company on being assembled within as good a specimen of a church

as they could hope to see. None could but help being struck by the skilful way in which our ancestors worked the hard and impracticable granite. It was here treated as we should now treat Bath stone, whilst the builders had taken advantage of the huge blocks, the pillars being over twelve feet from capital to base. The original seats had been carefully renewed, the original design being preserved where possible. The font was probably the least interesting feature in the building. Especially worthy of observation was the beautiful roof of the little chantry (Drake's) Chapel. The granite was finely worked, and he saw no reason to doubt the tradition mentioned by their kind hostess at the Abbey, that it was brought from the Abbey itself. At any rate, there was some Perpendicular work at the Abbey with which it would correspond. Before quitting the church, Mr. Brock remarked that in these days, when it was the fashion to speak lightly of modern monuments, it was very gratifying to find in Buckland Church so magnificent a specimen of sculpture as that which commemorated the bravery of Baron Heathfield in holding Gibraltar against the overwhelming force of the enemy. Sir James Picton remarked that the memorial in question, was worthy of note from the fact that it spoke of the union of the two great families of the Elliots and the Drakes.

On rejoining the carriages the party proceeded to Princetown. The weather over the moor was very gloomy, and just before Princetown was reached a thick misty rain came down, which not only obscured the view but made travelling otherwise disagreeable. Luncheon under the welcome cover of the Duchy Hotel, rendered the party for the time oblivious to the weather, and subsequently it was resolved to drive at once back to Tavistock, and catch an earlier train than that arranged. A small party did, indeed, in the interval, reach the Cyclopean Bridge at Blackabrook, under the able guidance of Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., of Weston-super-Mare, who had also undertaken to explain the pre-historic remains at Merivale Bridge, but the weather did not permit.

The evening meeting was held at the Athenæum. Mr. R. N. Worth, F.G.S., the President of the Plymouth Institution, in opening the proceedings, said that on behalf of the Society which he had the honour to represent, he desired to welcome the members of the Archaeological Association to that building, which the Council had had great pleasure in placing at their disposal. They only regretted that the whole of their extensions were not completed. Plymouth people were, as they had heard, proud of the fact that for six centuries, at least, their town had been bound up with the most stirring events in the national life. They were proud, too, that the chair which their present Mayor so worthily filled had been held by men who were among the heroes, not of a nation

only, but of mankind. But this local history was but a fragment of the vast period covered by their western archæology. Devonshire stood alone in the kingdom in its peculiar relationship to the antiquity of man. It was the only county in the land that gave consecutive evidence of his existence from the far back Palæolithic times. This was a district which had by turns been the stronghold and the refuge of every race that had occupied the island; which was the cradle and home of an ancient civilisation that had reached its height long before Cæsar made his futile attempt at conquest. This was the first part of the country known to the ancient world; and whether his hearers had or had not lost all faith in Brutus the Trojan and the Totnes shore, or in the Phœnician traffic with the tin mines, of this they might be sure, that whatever the age of the Bronze Period of Europe, so far back must be carried the mining enterprise and commerce of the Cassiterides. And so he cared not whether, to come to later times, his friends accepted King Arthur, or abandoned him as "the fabric of a vision"; it was at least certain that the western hills and valleys formed a stronghold of the Celtic race, in which deeds akin to those which myth and legend had gathered round Arthur's name were done. Such were the periods that had supplied materials for an archæology which was venerable when much that now rightly passed under the name was current fact. Could it be wondered, then, that Dartmoor, the fringe of which they had touched that day—that great pre-historic island girdled and wasted as it was and had been by the encroaching waves of an aggressive civilisation—should have been pronounced by such an authority as Mr. Lukis without rival in the kingdom in its relics of ancient man, its circles, lines, barrows, earthworks, cromlechs, huts, menhirs, trackways, pounds—some of an antiquity to which Stonehenge was a thing of yesterday, and extending thence almost continuously to the present time? They were very far even yet from knowing the extent of their archæological possessions. Why, it was only two or three years ago that the grandest circle in the county of Cornwall was first noted and described. Only two or three weeks had passed since the Mayor, on municipal duty bent, had traced a series of hitherto unrecognised pre-historic remains on the flanks of the moorland. Their excellent friend, Mr. Francis Brent, had important information to give on a kindred subject; and it was but within a few days that he, the President, had been enabled to satisfy himself that the hut clusters of West Cornwall really had their kindred in Devon. There was so much to be done, that local antiquaries gladly welcomed the members of the British Archæological Association to help in the doing of it; and he hoped before they returned they would have been shown that their confidence in the archæological attractions of Plymouth had not been misplaced.

The chair was then taken by Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, who called upon Sir Thomas Picton to read the first paper, on "Glimpses of Municipal Life in the Olden Times". This will, it is hoped, be printed elsewhere in the *Journal*.

The Rev. W. Lach-Szyrma contributed a paper entitled "The Voyage of Drake", which will also appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

A third paper was read by Mr. Drake, on "The Name and Arms of Drake".

Mr. Worth, in reply to this last most unexpected contribution, regretted that any matter should be brought before the Congress which there was no time to discuss. He simply wished to enter his protest, and to say that there were many points in what Mr. Drake had advanced that he was perfectly prepared to controvert, had time allowed.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 3, 1883.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were ordered to be returned to the donors of the respective presents to the Library :

To Dr. Guy, F.R.S., for "The Claims of Science to Public Recognition and Support." Large 4to. 1882.

To the Gaelic Union for the Preservation and Cultivation of the Irish Language, for "Rules", etc.

To Walter Keeping, Esq., M.A., Keeper of the Museum, for a "Popular Handbook to the Natural History Collection in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society." York, 1881.

To the Art-Union of London, for "Report of the Council for the Year 1881."

To the Society of Arts, for "Journal." Four Parts. 1882.

To the Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Proceedings." Two Parts. 1882.

Mr. H. Watling, of Earl Stonham, Suffolk, sent for exhibition a large collection of full-sized copies of ancient wall-paintings, for the most part from Earl Stonham Church, where the originals had been found during the restoration of the building. The principal of these represented the "Adoration of the Magi"; three crowned figures on horseback, with golden vessels in their hands, being represented; while in another compartment they were shown grouped round the infant Saviour, with His Mother and Joseph. Faint indications only remained, while the guiding star had all but disappeared. Above were traces of two angels swinging thuribles. Another compartment, showing the angelic message to the shepherds, was in much better preservation. Three shepherds were represented playing the bagpipes and other musical instruments. The design was crude and poor, and the execution and colouring very inferior. The whole has now been destroyed in consequence of the alteration of the roof. These were found on the

east wall of the north transept. The painting of the "Last Judgment", over the chancel-arch, remains. A good head of St. George was also exhibited, found on the west wall of the south transept.

Copies of figures of Cardinal Wolsey with a nimbus, and of St. Francis of Assisi, with a stigma on his left hand, and of St. Sebastian, all from the rood-screen of Bloxam Church, Oxon., were also exhibited; as was also an artistic full-length figure of St. Kenelm, formerly on the rood-screen of Woodbridge Church.

Mr. Watling also exhibited a rubbing of the fine brass to the memory of Andrew Soutterell, Knt., in Irnham Church, Suffolk. The figure is full-length, under a buttressed canopy, and the costume is of considerable interest. The state of preservation is extremely good. The inscription records that the knight represented was lord of Irnham, and that he died 6 Sept. 1390.

Rubbings of brasses in Rainham Church, Kent, were also shown, the principal being to the memory of John Norden, Esq., and his four wives, Johnes, Agnes, Eley, and Elizabeth. He died in 1580. The figure is a good example of civil costume. Two only of the wives, who are arranged in a line above the principal figure, remain.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a sketch, and described the remains, of the Whitefriars, London, recently laid open to view by removal of old buildings in Bouverie Street, Fleet Street. The remains consist of a lofty wall of fourteenth or fifteenth century date, built of chalk and Kentish rag, with well worked quoins of Godstone stone. This serves as the northern wall of No. 29 Bouverie Street, and extends eastward beyond that building, returning at a right angle to the south. This portion must always have been visible in the back-yards of the house. The height is about 35 feet. The eastern part of the wall projects slightly beyond the remainder, and the west end terminates with a fair angle of quoins splayed as if to form the commencement of an octagonal building. Beyond this point the foundation of the work continues quite up to Bouverie Street, the north wall of No. 29 being built upon it, and it appears to extend under the street. At the point where the wall of No. 29 commences, a small arched vault was found containing an interment. It has now been filled with concrete. There is nothing to distinguish the part of the Friary buildings to which this wall belonged; but that it must have been one of some importance is shown by its height. The northern is the external side. It is of interest to record the existence of a portion of the old establishment, since none appears to have been hitherto met with. The site is gravelly soil, the natural earth being met with about 9 feet below the present level of Bouverie Street. The old building removed was known as the Sussex Hotel. Parts of fifteenth century window-jambs, worked in Godstone stone, have been met with during the works of excavation.

Mr. C. H. Compton stated that Whitefriars was originally founded by Sir John Gray, in 1241, for Brothers of the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel. Edward I gave to the Prior and brethren a plot of ground in Fleet Street, to build their house, which was afterwards rebuilt by Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, about 1350. Sir Robert Knowles, Knt., built to a great extent, *temp.* Richard II and Henry IV. He died A.D. 1407, and was buried in the body of the church which he had newly built. The choir, presbytery, and steeple, were erected by Robert Mascall, Bishop of Hereford, who was buried here about 1420.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew placed on the table a collection of pottery which he described as of various eras, mostly from London excavations, after calling attention to an extraordinary forgery, or rather imposition, by hands well known; yet certainly neither imposition nor forgery for archaeologists, but rather simpler-minded folk,—Jonah in the “whale” or fish, a group, 8 inches long, in pewter. The fish exhibits an open-ribbed structure; Jonah lies within, extended, feet to tail. Hence the fish might be considered a shark, if it bore not a very considerable likeness to a barbel.

Then followed three art-objects in horn: 1, a pounce-box of coloured horn, elegant, and made in the fashion of a sugar-cruet of the time of George II; 2, a fine and polished pipe of black horn, about the same period, and eighteenth century pattern; 3, a very finely carved and polished snuff mull of seventeenth century art, closed by a lid of mother-of-pearl, and terminating with a clenched hand. Mr. H. S. Cuming has pronounced these objects “very fine”. The following notes of the exhibitor describe the *fictilia* and other objects:

“Of Roman pottery, portions of two large *pateræ*, with fine glaze, 10 inches diameter, stamped respectively [LUTAIUS. F.] and [PATERNI]; the larger portion of a fine *acetabulum*, impressed [CHAMILLI. OF.] from the workshop of Chamillus; a large portion of a fine bowl on a foot, without potter’s mark, showing within two bands, sea-horses in varied action, with Tritons; a small winged and tailed figure playing on a pipe, with crabs on the lower line, and a flower-ornament resembling an ancient terminal to the caduceus; a fragment with winged Victory holding forth a laurel-wreath; another fragment of a cup, bearing exteriorly the potter’s name, the letters [CEM...] leaving the termination conjectural; two *ampullæ* and a finely turned “lantern” lamp. This lamp and an *ampulla* of hard, dark, and compact texture were probably importations from Cologne. Its fellow came apparently from the Roman potteries of the New Forest, having in shape, clay, and firing, a close likeness to fragments and vessels excavated there. If so, this pretty little vessel might help an argument for traffic between the Hampshire potteries and Roman London, as, in like manner, many an urn points its origin to Upchurch and the Medway. Lastly, a very

interesting, perhaps almost unique, specimen of Roman metal casting. A circular bronze bottle, or *ampulla*, with neck and circular lip, having within the original clay mould. Evidently the *ampulla* had been cast aside on account of a failure in the homogeneity of the bronze just below the neck. Otherwise the vessel is perfect.

"These objects throw illustrative light on the domestic and civil life of the Roman metropolis. The patrician, with its fine shapes of Samian,—fine in texture, glaze, and ornament; its *plebs*, with coarser ware, graceful in outline, imported or home-made; and lastly, a local industry of no mean talent, in the finely formed though imperfect metal found on the site of its manufacture.

"Then follows a series of *ficilia* of varied date, form, and history. Of Norman work, and from a very deep excavation, a *cantharus* or handled drinking-jug, with partial green glaze, thumb-marked, lathe-turned, of elegant shape, about 8 inches high. Its Norman character is unmistakeable; but singularly, the shape irresistibly reminds us of the silver tankard of one hundred and fifty years ago. The Norman pottery of London has been, to a great extent, guiltless alike of excellence or elegance. It is satisfactory that a vessel should have been exhumed of artistic outline and somewhat elegant finish. A small Norman feeding-vessel presents, in every respect, a foil to the previous exhibit.

"Various manufactures were carried on in old London, and it is ever of interest when the excavator's spade unearths some site of an extinct industry. Thus, a Roman glass-house was established in Clement's Lane; an early Venetian in Tokenhouse Yard; and Sir John Hawkins' glass-house in Broad Street, very nearly where the station is built. Except in tanneries, there appears no grouping of manufactories. —those beyond history appear to have established themselves on the Bermondsey river side; the others were dotted over the town. The excavations, however, of the last few months have brought to light in the neighbourhood of Golden Lane, a pottery of the time of Edward I; and herein our ancestors certainly exceeded in wisdom their descendants. Golden Lane in situation bears favourable comparison with Lambeth. Moreover, the manufacture near Golden Lane of *ficilia* appears for a series of years to have been carried on. Some of the pottery before us is within touch of Norman days; others of the thirteenth century. A child's jug, a plaything; and a small jug, of grey clay with a human face, are almost Norman; so also this double feeding trough for birds, or perhaps for flowers. These two later design-turned and well moulded drinking cups with green salt glaze, and this yellow green frilled flower pot, touch the thirteenth century. The remaining objects possess much interest. A Rhineland double-handled flower vase, of a warm brown lustrous glaze; and a sack pot, probably from Amsterdam, of beautifully mottled surface, are of early

seventeenth century. But this terra-cotta cup, with the Turk's head of old playing cards, found in London, is uncertain as to country or date. Mr. Cuming is inclined to ascribe it to Italy, and its use an early coffee cup; if so, it possibly may be Venetian, and suggests the link of commerce, as of conquest, connecting the Queen of the Seas with the Levant. This last and regrettably fragmentary whistle of brown pottery is also of the seventeenth century, and was found in Blackfriars. It represents a female in widow's dress riding on an animal, with face to hind quarters of the said animal. In the satirical carvings and mouldings of the seventeenth century, a truth lies hidden. That our inference from this case may not be considered altogether conjectural, we remind the reader of singular tenures of manorial rights, and holdings of property or estate. Cawell, A.D. 1657, 4to., on this subject illustrates:—'At East and West Enborne, Berkshire, as at Torre in Devonshire, if a customary tenant die, the widow shall have what the law calls her "Free Bench or Dowry"—"dum sola et casta"; if, overlooking or overpassing these lines of right, by misconduct she forfeit her claim, yet if she will come into the manorial court, riding backwards on a black ram, reciting the confession of her frailty in certain words and set form, she thereby establishes her claim to her "Free Bench".' Lord Coke comments on 'Free bench.' Fitzherbert says it is a custom in some towns the wife shall have as dower the lands of her husband. Addison, in the *Spectator*, has a very amusing paper on this local custom, and it is singular in receiving an illustration from this seventeenth century whistle.

"I, finally, exhibit an extremely fine amber necklace of seventy-seven graduated beads, sea rolled, and dredged last year off the S. E. channel coast. A date, with accuracy, cannot be fixed. Certainly the ornament is far from modern, perhaps sixteenth century."

Mr. J. R. Allen, F.S.A.Scot., exhibited a collection of silver and bronze Irish fibulæ, ranging in date from the ninth to the eighteenth century, chiefly from Mallow, and a few from Cheshire. These show a great survival of type in their form and peculiar ornamentation.

Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., exhibited two jugs found during excavations on the site of the India Office; they are about the time of Queen Elizabeth. From the same site also he exhibited a bellarmine of small size, a small collection of Romano-British armlets and *styli*, and a rectangular case for waxen tablets.

Dr. A. C. Fryer forwarded for exhibition an engraved gem, with the following note:—

NOTES ON AN ANCIENT INTAGLIO.

BY DR. ALFRED C. FRYER, M.A.

My father has kindly allowed me to exhibit to the members of the British Archæological Association this cornelian intaglio, which, at

one time belonged to Prince Poniatowski, and at the dispersion of his treasure came into the hands of Duncan A. Cooper, Esq., of The Mount, Worcester, from whom Mr. Fryer obtained it. Round it is inscribed in Greek characters the name of Sosigenes, the astronomer employed by Julius Cæsar to reform the calendar. It was through the advice and assistance of Sosigenes that the great Roman warrior fixed the mean length of the year at $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, and decreed that every fourth year should have 366 days, the other years having each 365. In order to restore the vernal equinox to the 25th of March, the place it occupied in the time of Numa, he ordered two extraordinary months to be inserted between November and December in the current year, the first to consist of 33, and the second of 34 days. The intercalary month of 23 days fell into the year of course, so that the ancient year of 355 days received an augmentation of 90 days, and the year on that occasion contained in all 445 days.

These and other changes were introduced by Sosigenes, and as the first Julian year commenced with the 1st of January of the 46th before the Birth of Christ, and the 708th from the foundation of Rome, the gem was cut therefore in all probability about this date. The head is certainly artistically designed, and is most likely a likeness of the philosopher.

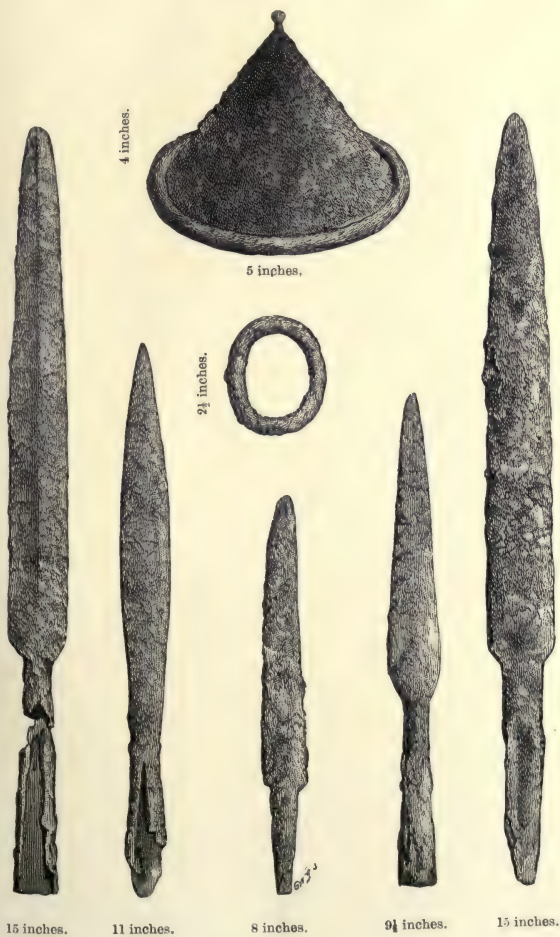
The following was then read by the author :—

NOTES ON ANGLO-SAXON DISCOVERIES AT STOWTING.

BY C. BRENT, ESQ., F.S.A.

The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Stowting in Kent was discovered in 1844 (when a new road was cut) by the men so engaged coming upon thirty skeletons and a great quantity of Anglo-Saxon treasures, such as fibulæ, beads, spears, swords, etc., a description of which, written by Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., appeared in vol. xxxi of the *Archæologia*. An account of the discovery was also given by the late Rev. F. Wrench in a little work published by him in 1845. Most of the objects found at that time came into the possession of Mr. Wrench, who at his death bequeathed them to the parish of Stowting, to be kept as heirlooms in the rectory.

This discovery induced my brother the late Mr. John Brent, in 1866, to make further researches in the adjoining field for the Society of Antiquaries; he found twenty-five graves, and a great many fine Anglo-Saxon fibulæ and beads, etc., which are now preserved in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, and he gave an account of his discoveries in vol. xli of the *Archæologia*. My brother discontinued further researches, on account of the great difficulty in finding the graves, as the part of the field left unsearched was at the bottom of a





hill, and the soil from the top had been washed down, and had consequently buried the graves to a great depth. However, in spite of all obstacles, I determined, in April 1881, to make a further examination of that part of the field left undisturbed. I therefore engaged four men, and set them to work to dig a trench 10 feet deep, 3 feet wide, and 30 feet long; when they had finished I probed the bottom with an iron spit, and discovered three graves, all lying East and West.

The first was a grave of a man, and from the large size of his bones I should judge him to have been over 6 feet in height; with these bones I only found the umbo of a shield. The second grave contained the skeleton of a lady, the bones were quite perfect, the skull complete, teeth very good and regular; and, in looking into the skull, I was surprised to see that a quantity of snail shells were adhering to it, and I shook out thirteen of them; the skull, except for the shells, was completely empty; the shells were empty but perfectly clean; this must prove that these snails had burrowed through the 10 feet of soil down to the bones after the body had decayed; the left hand was by her side, the right on her stomach; the legs were crossed, the right over her left; around her neck I found sixty beads of glass, coloured clay, and amber; on her right shoulder a bronze fibula; under her right hand a circular fibula or ring of iron, which broke to pieces on removal. The third grave contained only a few bones.

I set the men to dig another trench, similar to the first, and whilst they were so engaged, I opened a grave myself which I had discovered in another part of the field; from the disturbed state of the bones I surmised that this had been previously opened, and I think it was one I had opened in 1868, and from which I obtained at that time a fine spear head 15 inches long.

After the men had finished the second trench I examined it as I had done the first, and came upon four more graves. The first was lying East and West, and contained no remains except the skeleton much decayed. The second was also East and West; it contained only the bones of a skeleton and two iron rings joined together. The third was North and South, lying right in the trench in a very curious position; the back bone made a half circle, the right hand was with the feet, the lower jaw about a foot above the other bones, the skull I could not at first find, but I at last found it 2 feet from any of the bones. From the position of the bones I imagined that the body had been buried in a sitting position and had rolled over when it had decayed; by the right side was a spear 12 inches long, on the left a very large knife 15 inches long, on which was laid a smaller knife 8 inches long,—both had evidently been contained in the same sheath; also an oval-shaped iron ring, 2 inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, a piece of a boar's tusk worked, and some pieces of ivory which had formed part of a comb. In the fourth grave

I first came upon a very small skull, and with it a small gold earring, evidently that of a child; below this I found another skeleton, that of a man, and with him a fine spear head of iron, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

With this I concluded my researches, as the labour was so great and the find of articles so few, that I did not consider it worth my while to continue further exploration of the field, as the further I went the deeper the soil became.

Professor J. F. Hodgetts of Moscow read a paper entitled "The Myth of the Week", which will be printed in a forthcoming part of the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1883.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. H. Watling forwarded a further collection of drawings, among which were sixteen subjects of the "Root of Jesse", from the church of Kaymes, co. Cambr.; a figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary, from Blythburg Church, Suffolk; and a figure of a saint holding a knife, from the same; four figures from Bricet Church, Suffolk; and a coloured fac-simile of the window in Long Melford Church, Suffolk, having a representation of Lady Anne Percy clad in a coat of arms,—*dexter*, Raynesford and Brokesbourne quarterly; *sinister* (Percy) Brabant and Lucy quarterly. The inscription at the base of the window is, "Orate pro bono statu Laurentii Rainsforth militis et dominæ Hungerford filiæ Comitiss Northumbriæ."

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, described the arms mentioned above, and pointed out some interesting points in the composition of the figure.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a scarce silver penny of Ethelred II, reading *rev.*, GODRIC NO LVNDENE, found in the ground in Aldersgate Street.

Mr. E. Walford, M.A., described some ancient stained windows at Hampstead and Oxford, and promised notes on them for a future evening.

Mr. C. H. Compton read the following

EPITOME OF THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS PROTECTION ACT, 1882.

(45 and 46 Vic., c. 73.)

The following definitions are given:

(§ 8.) The Commissioners of Works means, as respects Great Britain, the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works and Public Build-

ings; and as respects Ireland, the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland.

(§ 11.) "Ancient monuments to which the Act applies", means the monuments described in the schedule, and any other monuments of a like character of which the Commissioners of Works, at the request of the owners thereof, may consent to become guardians; and "ancient monument" includes the site of the monument and such land adjoining as may be necessary to fence, cover in, or otherwise preserve from injury, the monument and the means of access thereto.

(§ 9.) Owners are defined to be,—1, person entitled for his own benefit in fee to the receipt of the rents of any freehold or copyhold site of an ancient monument, whether subject to incumbrances or not; 2, person entitled to a beneficial lease of the site, having not less than forty-five years unexpired, at a rent not exceeding one-third of the full annual value of the land demised; 3, tenant for life, under a settlement, of leasehold, having not less than sixty years unexpired, or any greater estate; 4, any corporation, trustees for charities, and commissioners or trustees for ecclesiastical, collegiate, or other public purposes, entitled in fee, or to a lease for not less than sixty years; and provision is made for owners under disabilities.

(§ 2.) The owner may by deed constitute the Commissioners of Works the guardians of the monument, who shall then, until they shall receive notice in writing to the contrary from any succeeding owner, maintain (*i.e.*, do all that is necessary for repairing, or protecting from decay or injury) such monument: the costs of maintenance, subject to the approval of the Treasury, to be defrayed from moneys provided by Parliament.

(§ 3.) The Commissioners of Works, with the consent of the Treasury, may purchase, with money provided by Parliament, any ancient monument to which the Act applies; and for this purpose the Lands' Clauses Consolidation Acts are incorporated with this Act.

(§ 4.) Any person may by deed or will give all his estate in any ancient monument to which the Act applies, to the Commissioners.

(§ 5.) Inspectors of ancient monuments to be appointed by the Treasury, who are to report to the Commissioners on the condition of such monuments, and the best mode of preserving them. Expenses to be paid by Treasury.

(§ 6.) Persons injuring or defacing ancient monuments liable, on summary conviction, to fine not exceeding £5, and such sum as the court may award for repairing damage; or to be imprisoned, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding one month. The owner not to be punishable in respect of any act which he may do to such monument, except when the Commissioners of Works have been constituted guardians.

(§ 10.) Her Majesty may, by order in Council, declare any monument of a like character to the monuments described in the schedule an ancient monument to which the Act applies; in which case the Act shall apply as if the monument had been named in the schedule.

The schedule contains the following list of ancient monuments:

LIST OF (68) ANCIENT MONUMENTS TO WHICH
ACT APPLIES.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

	County.	Parish.
Tumulus and Dolmen, Plas Newydd, Anglesea -	Anglesea -	Llandedwen
Tumulus (Wayland Smith's Forge) -	Berks -	Ashbury
Uffington Castle -	" -	Uffington
Stone Circle (Long Meg and her Daughters) near Penrith -	Cumberl. -	Addingham
Stone Circle on Castle Rigg, near Keswick -	" -	Crosthwaite
Stone Circles on Burn Moor -	" -	St. Bees
Stone Circle (the Nine Ladies), Stanton Moor -	Derby -	Bakewell
Tumulus, Arborlow -	" -	"
Hob Hurst's House and Hut, Bastow Moor -	" -	"
Minning Low -	" -	Brassington
Arthur's Quoit, Gower -	Glamorgan -	Llanridian
Tumulus at Uley -	Gloucester -	Uley
Kit's Coty House -	Kent -	Aylesford
Danes' Camp -	Northampton -	Hardingstone
Castle Dykes -	" -	Farthingston
Rollrich Stones -	Oxford -	Little Rollright
Pentre Evan Cromlech -	Pembroke -	Nevern
Ancient Stones at Stanton Drew -	Somerset -	Stanton Drew
Chambered Tumulus at Stoney Littleton, Wellow -	" -	Wellow
Cadbury Castle -	" -	South Cadbury
Mayborough, near Penrith -	Westmorl. -	Barton
Arthur's Round Table, Penrith -	" -	"
Stonehenge -	Wilts -	Amesbury
Old Sarum -	" -	"
Vallum at Abury, the Sarcen Stones within the same, those along the Kennet Road, and the Group between Abury and Beckhampton -	" -	Abury
Long Barrow at West Kennet, near Marlborough -	" -	West Kennet
Silbury Hill -	" -	Abury
Dolmen (Devil's Den) near Marlborough -	" -	Fyfield
Barbury Castle -	" -	Ogbourne, St. Andrews & Swindon

SCOTLAND.

	County.	Parish.
Bass of Inverurie -	Aberdeen -	Inverurie
Vitrified Fort on the Hill of Noath -	" -	Rhynie
Pillar and Stone at Newton-in-the-Garioch -	" -	Culsalmond
Circular, walled Structures (Edin's Hall) on Cockburn Law -	Berwick -	Dunse
British walled Settlement enclosing Huts at Harefaulds in Lauderdale -	" -	Lauder
Dun of Dornadilla -	Sutherland -	Durness
Sculptured Stone, called "Suenos Stone" near Forres -	Elgin -	Rafford
Cross Slab, with Inscription, in the Churchyard of St. Vigean -	Forfar -	St. Vigean
British Forts on the Hills, called "The Black and White Catherthuns" -	" -	Menmuir
Group of Remains and Pillars on a Haugh at Clava, on the Banks of the Nairn -	Inverness -	Croy and Dalcross
Pictish Towers at Glenelg -	" -	Glenelg
Cairns with Chambers and Galleries partially dilapidated -	Kirkcudbright -	Minnigaff
Catstane, an inscribed Pillar -	Linlithgow -	Kirkliston
Ring of Brogar and other Stone Pillars at Stennis in Orkney, and the neighbouring Pillars -	Orkney -	Firth and Stennis
Chambered Mound of Maeshowe -	" -	"
Stones of Callernish -	Ross -	Uig
Burgh of Clickanim -	Shetland -	Sound
Pictish Tower at Mousa in Shetland -	" -	Dunrossness
Inscribed Slab standing on the road-side leading from Wigton to Whithorn, and about a mile from Whithorn -	Wigton -	Whithorn
Two Stones with incised Crosses, on a Mound in a Field at Lagganairn -	" -	New Luce
Pillars at Kirkmadrine -	" -	Stoneykirk

IRELAND.

	County.	Parish.	Barony.
Earthen Enclosure and Mounds, Navan Fort	Armagh	Eglisli	Armagh
Stone Monuments and Groups of sepulchral Cists in Glen Maulin	Donegal	Glencolumbkille	Banagh
Earthen and stone Inclosure known as Grianan of Aileach	"	Burt	West Innish- owen [reagh
Earthen Inclosure and Cromlech called "The Giant's Ring", near Ballylessan	Down	Drumbo	Upper Castle-
Earthen Fort at Downpatrick (Dunkeltair)	"	Downpatrick	Lecale
Stone Structure called "Staigue Fort"	Kerry	Kilcrogham	Dunkerron
Earthen Mound at Greenmount	"	Kilsaran	Ardee
Stone Monument at Ballyna	Mayo	Kilmoremoey	Tyrawly
Cairns and stone Circles at Moytura	"	Cong [Dowth	Kilmaine
Tumuli, New Grange, Knowth and Dowth	Meath	Monknewton &	Upper Slane
Earthworks on the Hill of Tara	"	Tara	Skreen
Earthworks at Teltown (Taltin)	"	Teltown	Upper Kells
Earthworks at Wardstown (Flaghta)	"	Athboy	Lune
Two central Tumuli on the Hills called "Slieve Na Calliagh"	Meath	Loughcrew	Fore
Cairn at Heapstown	Sligo	Kiltmacallan	Tirerrill
Sepulchral Remains at Carrowmore,—Cairn, "Miscaun Mave", or "Knocknarea"	"	Kiltmacowen	Curbury
Cave containing Ogham inscribed Stones at Drumloghan	Waterford	Stradbally	Decies with- out Drum
Stone Monument and the Cemetery on the Hill of Usnagh	Westmeath	Killare	Rathconrath

Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, M.A., spoke of the great and urgent necessity of enlarging the scope of the bill, so as to include edifices and houses, and pointed out that none of the numerous monuments still extant in Cornwall had found a place in the schedule.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a coin of the Empress Sabina, second brass, found in St. Saviour's Docks; a fragment of Roman pottery from Ambresbury; a green glass bottle of the seventeenth century; and a drawing of a key, fourteenth century, from Rackeford church, Co. Devon. Mr. Way also described the finding of a large pit of bones, probably the site of a plague pit, on the site of the Fire Brigade Station, Southwark Bridge Road.

The Chairman read his translation of the Spanish paper by D. Cl. de Bontelou, printed above at pp. 12-26.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., read a paper, originally prepared for reading at the Plymouth Congress, "On an Early Roll in the British Museum, relating to the See of Crediton."

WEDNESDAY, 7TH FEBRUARY 1883.

T. MORGAN, V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associate was duly elected:—

Frank Taylor, Esq., Endsleigh, Chepstow Road, Park Hill, Croydon.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to—

The Horners' Company, for "Revised Catalogue of the Exhibition", 1882.

To the Society, for "Archæological Journal", No. 156, vol. xxxix, 1882.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., read a communication from Mr. Danby Palmer respecting the preservation of the Toll House, Great Yarmouth; and a copy of the Memorial of the Association to the Lords of the Treasury upon the same subject.

Several members testified to the importance of the preservation of this and similar buildings.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., Hon. Curator, exhibited two Pehlvi coins with undeciphered legends. One of these coins bears the emblem of a crescent enclosing a star. Mr. Wright also exhibited a large collection of silver spoons of early date, a silver penny of Edward III, struck at York, and an Elizabeth groat.

Mr. R. Blair sent drawings of the interesting bronze ornaments, etc., for horse trappings, which were discovered a month or two ago within the eastern rampart of the Roman Castrum at South Shields. There are five objects in all—two of No. 1, two of No. 2, and one of No. 3. Nos. 1 and 2 are in beautiful condition, merely covered with a pleasant looking green ærugo, while No. 3 is very much oxidized. They are interesting and valuable on account of their late Keltic “feeling”. So far as can be learned, no other objects of a similar kind have been found in this country. In Germany, however, according to Lindenschmidt, there have been articles treated in a like manner exhumed in Roman Castra.

Mr. G. H. Compton exhibited a Roman coin, shewing a female head and *Leibertas* on the obverse, and a lituus and vase on the reverse.

Mr. C. Lambert, F.S.A., exhibited a large collection of coins of the Cromwells, and read a paper on the “Lives of Oliver Cromwell and some of his descendants.”

Mr. Wright, Mr. Birch, Dr. Phené, and the Chairman took part in the discussion which ensued.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., read, in the absence of the author, a paper on the “Tradesmen’s Signs in St. Paul’s Churchyard, London”, by H. S. Cuming, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., V.P. The discussion on this paper was adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, 21ST FEBRUARY, 1883.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected:—

Algernon Brent, Esq., 19, Oxford Mansions, W.

Mrs. Wright, Horsham.

Thomas Harding, Esq., Wick House, Brislington.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the library:—



1.



3.



2.



4.

CELTIC BRONZES.

1, 2, 3. Harness, from South Shields, $\frac{1}{2}$ scale, *see* p. 90. 4. Fragment of Breast-plate, London, $\frac{1}{2}$ scale, *see* p. 91.



To S. Robinson, Esq., the Author, for "Persian Poetry for English Readers", 8vo., 1883.

To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries", Second Series, vol. viii, No. VI.

„ „ for "Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte", Jahrg. v; heft i-iv, 1882.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., exhibited, in reference to the recently read paper on Signboards, a view of the Strand near St. Clement Danes Church, 1750, showing the numerous signboards of the period; also a Roman cinerary vase containing burnt bones from diggings in King Street, by Mr. Geo. Gwilt, in 1819.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., Hon. Curator, announced the progress of proceedings in connection with the forthcoming Congress at Dover and Canterbury.

The detailed programme, it is hoped, will be placed in the hands of our Associates and friends at an early date. A courteous invitation has been given by the Mayor and Corporation of the ancient Cinque port town; and everything appears to promise a very large and influential gathering on the occasion.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a pair of oriental stiletto scissors, with hollow steel blades ornamented with gilded foliage, seventeenth century.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a glass wine bottle of the sixteenth century, a bronze crucifix with each arm of the cross terminating in a cherub; a star or badge with head of the Blessed Virgin Mary and a crucifix; a large brass circular antefixal ornament, having a bearded head with butterfly wings on the temples, profile to the left; an oval medalet of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Order of Jesus; a medal with the head of our Saviour with inscription, "Salvator Mundi salva nos". *Rev.* The Blessed Virgin Mary, "Mater Salvatori ora pro nobis", and other similar objects.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew contributed a variety of interesting objects, of which he gave the following account:—"A fine and wonderfully acute arrow head of deer bone; a portion of a Celtic breast-plate or horse armour, worked in a pattern somewhat of lyre shape, with an elegant effect, from a recent excavation in the City, as also the arrow head. Of Roman antiquities—a well preserved and sharp cutter, an instrument of utility transmitted in the same form to the sixteenth century; keys of various sizes and uses; a sheath knife for suspension, with a bowed door key; a fibula of bronze, pearly, set with four onyx stones; an olla of blackened clay, from near St. Paul's; a bracelet of small silver annuli, strung on silver wire; a fine calculus, of

bone, for playing the game called 'Duodecim Scripta', a table of twelve squares, whereon were placed calculi of various colours, the moves being determined by throws of tesserae; a calculus of jet was, unfortunately, unexhibited. Little doubt but that the many pieces of chipped and rounded samian, found in London, and on sites of other Roman towns and stations, were prepared for playing this game.

"A fire-arrow of bronze, about 11 inches, with three expanding wings (two having been broken). The arrow is very light, penetrative, and decisive. It has been made of comparatively thin folded bronze; within the expanded arms the inextinguishable fire was laid—the long cane shaft directed an unerring flight, and the elongated sharpened point ensured transfixion. St. Paul, in Ephesians, chap. vi, v. 16, writes of these arrows. This specimen of an antique weapon of offence is extremely rare.

"A simulum of iron, 14 inches in length, perfect, but that the curl forming the ear is partly broken. This is believed to present the only specimen hitherto found in London. The collection of H. S. Cuming, Esq., V.P., possesses a fine bronze simulum from the tombs of Canino, but the iron simulum is not often found.

"In sacrifice it was used for pouring wine between the horns of the animal; and at feasts, for dipping wine from the larger vessels, and replenishing the bowls of guests.

"Mr. C. Brent suggested the idea of 'a hanging lamp'. Of course it might in some cases have been so used by so economic a people as the Romans, but there can be no mistaking the primary use of the simulum. Just to note unconsciously transmitted forms, the old-fashioned blue and white pottery ladle of the butter-boat of sixty years ago, almost entirely represents the classic simulum.

"A very fine axe of iron, with skew-handle socket, thin, with broad base, the diagonal sides rising to the socket, gave rise to interesting speculation. The novelty of shape, and power of the blow from such a weapon, suggested speciality of purpose. Was this an ancient form of the beheading axe—and symbol of magisterial power? Such was the impression on the mind of the writer, confirmed afterwards by a deeply read classic. The axe was found very near the site of the supposed pretorium of Londinium, and presented as the axe of a lictor, which probably it may have been.

"Lastly.—Two rings; one of ivory, one of jet. In nothing were the Romans more luxuriously expensive than in the matter of rings. Lead for the legionary, iron for the recently engaged lovers, bronze, precious stone, and gold for the knightly order, and ivory for the freedman and Plebs. Here is one—worn in old London by one of its citizens. But the jet ring commands our attention and stirs speculation. It is probably of the third century, of extreme rarity and

interest, its engraving on the bezel represents the Cross; the bow of the ring, four palm branches. Is it a commemorative ring? If so, of early Christian martyrdom? The emblems are found on catacomb rings. But this ring, like those in the York Museum, is of Romano-British art. Does it point towards the first lives given for the Faith in Britain? Under these emblems do we read 'Albanus and Amphibolus?' I cannot determine, but thought, nay I say, probability connects this most interesting and rare relic, this ring bearing the emblems of our Redemption, with those martyrs who died at Verulamium for the sake of its Author. The ring, from its size, had been worn upon a female hand. A fine Saxon leaf-shaped knife with maker's mark, 12 inches by $2\frac{1}{4}$, in excellent preservation, having lain near the bank of the Thames and in its ooze; a fine fibula of copper; a Norman chessman (pawn) of dark polished bone; a Yorkist badge in bronze; a carved beechwood spoon of the sixteenth century; and a fine and perfect comb with Greek key-pattern—all from London excavations—were objects of interest, as illustrative of the old home-life of old London, its successions, and its political partisanship.

"From the mediæval and long-continued pottery near Golden Lane, came a finely-formed and well-glazed jug; and a companion bowl, lathe turned, fine green interior glaze, and of the very unusual proportion of 9 inches diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.

"The objects in glass have been divided into two groups. First, those exhumed in London, consisting of fragments of Roman 'Lecythi', beautifully moulded Venetian stems, with the lion's head; necks of wine or perfume bottles, with collars; a superbly iridescent Venetian *phiale*; a cylindrical white bottle from an excavation exterior to the old London wall, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, 7 in height; two perfume phials (Roman), one enamelled, the other olive glass, and a sexagon; a singular bottle belonging to the sixteenth century, iridescent, with flattened sides; and a still more singular object, apparently the neck and body of a large squat bottle, resembling those in use in the reign of Henry VIII for storing wine. The form appears to have been the result of a deliberate design, rather than fragmentary violence. The edges are smooth and even, iridescent as all other parts. The ring being clear and sonorous, and shape convenient, why may it not have been designed as a bell? The Venetians at this period and later had their glass bells; to some native artist came the idea, perhaps, of rivalry, hence this glass $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter of sixteenth century.

"The second group consists of Spanish glass, relieved by one or two Venetian specimens; a group of twenty-six imitative crystal beads—solid, clear, heavy, inlaid with points of emerald and ruby glass—very beautiful as 'objets de luxe'; a Spanish olla of brilliant deep-toned orange tint; an extraordinary vessel of purple glass, with long

arched neck formed as an eared or winged serpent, entirely and variously ornamented, and probably for pouring rose-water in a thin stream upon the hands; a dish for flowers, ribbed with blue and gray, the base gay with crimson and aventurin. Such were, doubtless, intended for the Levant market, and bear strongly the impress of Moorish art; a very beautiful wine glass and two noble chalices or 'goblets', are more essentially the products of Spanish art at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of seventeenth century. It is almost impossible, without illustration, to convey to the mind of the reader the beauty or excellence of these very unusual art objects. In height respectively 14 and 13 inches; the bowl of the former being 7 inches, the latter $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Both are supported by massive and well-designed stems, the bowl of the former traversed by diagonal ribboned lines—flowers and foliage; the latter by a close running pattern of flowers and foliage, with cupids, fruits and birds, remindful of the minute and beautiful chasings, the product of Italian engravers of the same era. Indeed the question is raised, whether the latter chalice might not be Italian rather than Spanish; but, although La Granja and S. Ildenfonso rivalled in the seventeenth century the products of Murano, and so closely, that the judge has now difficulty in deciding the rival claims, the Spanish was not so absorbed into the Venetian, but that certain characteristics remain, sufficient to assist a right decision. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Barcelona exported immense quantities of Spanish glass, and doubtless much passed as Venetian, whilst in reality the product of Spanish artists, until of late a closer study of the characteristics and merits of each led to the partial disentanglement of the question, disclosing that in many an English collection were specimens of Spanish art most worthy of honour, and descendants of the art of glass making, which according to Pliny, flourished in his days both in Gaul and Spain."

Mr. Martin exhibited portions of two Roman flower vases; one from Colchester, the other from Finsbury; also an olive jar of Roman date, and some glass and Samian vessels from Southwark diggings, in illustration of the ensuing paper.

Mr. Brock read a paper on "Roman Southwark", by Dr. W. Rendle, which it is hoped will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*. Several plans were exhibited by way of elucidating the author's statements.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., Hon. Curator, and the Chairman took part in the discussion which ensued.

Mr. Wright continued the adjourned discussion on the paper by Mr. Cuming read at the last meeting, and Mr. Birch and the Chairman spoke upon the same subject.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 7, 1883.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To Rev. B. Blacker, M.A., for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries", Parts XIV, April ; XV, July ; XVI, October, 1882.

To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences", vol. iii, No. I, Jan. 1879 ; Part II, 1882.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock announced that the following resolution had been unanimously adopted by the Council : "That this Association, having heard that the proposed railway-line from the London and South-Western Station at Portsea to Bristol will intersect the Cursus and Avenue of Stonehenge, desires to express the strongest hope that a project which will destroy the value of those most interesting ancient monuments may not be allowed to become law."

Mr. Brock exhibited a collection of early jettons, ranging in point of date from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century ; a bone fruit-knife, found with Roman remains ; and the handle of a Roman knife.

The Chairman adverted to the use of jettons, which, although generally believed to have served as counters, he believed to have been current as small change previously to the introduction of the trader's token.

Mr. Chasemore exhibited a pewter spoon of early date, a very long and narrow rapier with elaborate guard, a small green glass *unguentarium* (sixteenth century), some leaden plaques, and some chipped flint flakes, found in the bed of the Thames during dredging operations at Mortlake. The position where the earliest of these remains were found probably marks the site of a very ancient ford.

The Chairman exhibited a Roman *calculus* of jet ; an arrow-head and some articles in bronze ; an ivory dagger-blade, sixteenth century ; a decade of the Rosary ; a bobbin with silver wire on it ; a child's doll and hornbook of sixteenth century ; a case of six spoons, dating from A.D. 1400 to 1600, four being of silver throughout ; an enamel, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$, of thirteenth or fourteenth century ; a retainer's heraldic badge in gold and colour ; two candlesticks of latteen, nearly 14 inches in height ; and eleven specimens of very ancient oriental porcelain, exhumed from a depth of nearly 21 feet. On the foregoing objects Mr. Mayhew promises a paper on a future occasion.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.* ; Mr. E. Walford, M.A. ; and Mr. Tucker, *Somerset Herald*, made a few remarks on these objects.

Mr. A. B. Wyon, Her Majesty's Seal Engraver, read a paper on the "Great Seals of Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI", with especial

reference to the second great seal of Henry IV. This was illustrated with casts of a considerable number of great seals. It is hoped the paper will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. Tucker and Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, took part.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21, 1883.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., *HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.*

The Right Hon. Earl Granville was unanimously elected President of the Association for the forthcoming Congress and ensuing Session.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Author, for "Surnames as a Science", by Robert Ferguson, Esq., M.P. London, 1883.

To Mrs. Guest, for "Origines Celticæ", by Edwin Guest, Esq. London, 1883.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, described several details of the proposed Congress at Dover, which he hoped will be arranged so as to include visits to Canterbury and Calais.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, C.E., exhibited a Chinese wooden doorlock with two tumblers and metal key ; not unlike, as regards principle, the locks found in ancient Egyptian tombs.

The Rev. Dr. Scott, Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., and Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, took part in a discussion which ensued concerning this object.

Mr. G. R. Wright exhibited a shilling of Edward VI.

Mr. W. de G. Birch read a communication entitled "Notice of some recently discovered Roman Antiquities at Sanxay, near Poitiers", by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, M.A., F.S.A., V.P. This will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

Mr. A. B. Wyon produced some additional evidence relating to the second seal of Henry IV, in reference to the discussion upon his paper read at the last evening meeting.

Mr. E. Walford, M.A., read a paper on "Ancient Stained Glass at Hampstead and Oxford, connected with Bishop Butler."

Mr. W. H. Cope, Mr. Brock, and Mr. Birch, took part in the discussion which ensued.

Mr. Brock read a paper on "Antiquarian Discoveries at Westminster, and on the Site of St. Leonard's Church, Eastcheap." This was illustrated with several diagrams, and will be, it is hoped, printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

The Charters of Newbury.—At a recent meeting of the Newbury Corporation, Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., formerly a member of the Town Council, produced a series of Royal Charters which had been alienated from the possession of the borough authorities for nearly a century, having lain unheeded among the muniments of the Townsend family, whose representative, Mr. Stephen Hemsted, jun., J.P., of Newbury, has restored them to the town. These documents, which will prove some day to be of inestimable value to the town, include the original Incorporation Charter of Queen Elizabeth, and several charters granted in the reigns of Charles I, Charles II, and James II, also a terrier of lands belonging to the Crown at Newbury in 1561, and other manuscripts. Most of the charters are in an excellent state of preservation, and many of them show extremely beautiful specimens of calligraphy. These important deeds should be arranged and preserved in glass cases at the Municipal buildings in the way that the Corporation of Kidderminster have adopted for their charters and ancient documents.

The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, edited by OSCAR VON GEBHARDT, are in preparation, and shortly to be issued to subscribers only, price £3 3s. in a portfolio of twenty folio facsimile plates, with descriptive letterpress (Asher and Co.). The volume will be hailed with joy by all who are interested in the history of painting in general and of Christian art in particular. As is well known, the oldest monuments of Christian pictorial art that have hitherto been brought to light, excepting some scanty remains in the Catacombs, are of Eastern origin, and serve to show us the transition from the antique to the degeneration of the Byzantine school. We may mention, for example, the Vienna Genesis and the Codex Rossanensis. The known monuments of Christian painting of Western origin, on the other hand, with the exception of a few examples of Anglo-Saxon or Irish art, do not begin until the period of Charlemagne; not a single important MS. of an earlier date has been discovered. Such a work is now projected, in nineteen large phototypes and a coloured facsimile. The original is an illustrated Vulgate Pentateuch of the seventh century,

in a comparatively fair state of preservation ; it is in the possession of the Earl of Ashburnham, who in the most liberal manner has given the editor permission to issue this publication.

The pictures comprise about eighty different scenes from Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, beginning with the Creation and closing with the last days of Moses. They are the work of a highly-talented artist, who seems to have drawn freely from his own imagination, and to have had scarcely any patterns to guide him. Under such circumstances, no one will look for a lofty style of composition any more than for a correct recognition of the laws of perspective. Precisely this directness and this unbounded freedom of creation, however, lend to the pictures a unique charm. And, finally, these productions have an epoch-making importance from the abundance of new material stored up in them for our knowledge of costumes and utensils.

Origines Celticae (a fragment) and other contributions to the History of Britain, by EDWIN GUEST, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., late Master of Gonville and Caius Colleges, Cambridge (London: Macmillan and Co., 1883, two volumes). Although this work is called a fragment, it is in reality a valuable series of Essays upon the Ethnology and Archæology of early Celtic races, chiefly in connection with British antiquities and the first inhabitants of these islands. In the prefatory notice are given a biographical account of the author by a member of his family, and a further account of Dr. Guest's literary and archæological labours, with special reference to those undertaken by him in connection with the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, both before and after the separation of that body from the British Archæological Association. To this is added by Professor Stubbs and Mr. C. Deedes an explanatory statement of the arrangement of the work, in which they show how they have arranged the chapters on early Ethnology intended by Dr. Guest for the introduction to a work which, coming from his hands, would have been invaluable ; his purpose seeming to have been to write the history of Britain and its inhabitants until the completion of the Conquest by the Angles and Saxons, and to have added later chapters worked out from the sketches which form the historical papers read before the Institute by him from time to time. Thus the work really represents the endeavour of the author to trace the history of the earliest recorded inhabitants of England through the prehistoric times, by examining the notices made of them in extant writings, and by investigating their remains as pointed out by archæologists and excavators. To this end he examined local names, mythological traditions, and the records afforded by manuscripts and monuments ; and, if sometimes his philological explanations are found to be at variance with hitherto received notions, they are worthy at least of

the description given of them by Professor Stubbs, as "bold and ingenious speculations in philology". The first volume comprises three important chapters devoted to the history of the Kimmerioi and the Cimbri, the Iberes and Aquitani, and the Ligures. The Kimmerioi, according to the author, were Sikeloi left behind in the Peninsula, who passed from the Crimea into Asia, worked their way up the Dneiper to the Ukraine, thence to the Elbe, and so to the Western Ocean. The Cimbri came in the later years of the second century B. C. from the coasts of this ocean. These chapters are followed by others on the Early Ethnology of Hebrews, Canaanites, Chaldees, Egyptians, Thracians, etc., and Greeks, on Early Biblical Chronology, and a philological tractate on letter changes of early language in reference to Celtic words, or names for persons and places.

This last is a remarkable chapter, and should be closely studied by all British Archæologists, who will find a great deal of new and important light shed upon the formation and meaning of the Celtic appellations which are found in the oldest writings and inscriptions relating to Britain. This subject is treated in a way which carries conviction into the mind of the reader, and dispels much that has been hitherto accepted too hastily as to the signification of the names of Celtic towns and British heroes. The concluding chapter of the first volume is devoted to a consideration of the Belgæ, whom the author considers ancestors of the Manxmen, and a Gaelic people, the name originally signifying herdsmen.

In the second volume, the author comprehends in four chapters an account of the Britons, Scots, and Picts; British geography; British buildings and weapons; and the Itinerary of Antoninus. It is difficult to say which is the most important of these Essays. Of the second and fourth much has been written recently by our late Treasurer, Mr. G. M. Hills, who will find many things to attract his notice, and demand his investigation in what Dr. Guest has written. The third chapter touches the root of all British archæology, and travels over the wide field of buildings, roads, camps, hut-circles, walls, wicker-work, incised stones, weapons of offence and defence, and burials. Not a few of these relics, existing in a more or less imperfect condition, as would naturally be the case after the long lapse of time which has passed since their formation, have been visited by this Association from time to time during the course of the Annual Congresses; but notwithstanding the fact that they have been carefully explained and fully elucidated by those who have undertaken to describe them, yet it may be said, without deprecating the work thus done, that with Dr. Guest's book in hand the archæologist will glean a fresh harvest of knowledge about the ancient people of this land and about the sites which they occupied,—sites to which they have left their names, and in which

they have left their relics, silent, yet speaking in a language which few have been gifted to interpret in so masterly a way as the author of the work before us. It is one of the aims of antiquarian societies to gather up for record numberless but isolated facts of ancient life; these, albeit of small power when taken alone, taken together, form as it were the materials out of which comprehensive theorists and constructive historians may fashion, as Dr. Guest and others have lately done, monuments of undying fame for themselves, historical illustrations of past ages which, when we read them aright, bring back past ages before us in so vivid a manner that we may almost fancy ourselves present in them, a sentiment which Quintilian declares should be shared in by all who are truly antiquaries.

Loan Exhibition of Objects illustrating the History of Navigation, Liverpool.—The Committee of the Liverpool Free Public Museum, propose to hold, during the early part of this year, a Loan Exhibition of objects illustrating the history of Navigation, and they invite the co-operation of persons possessing specimens suitable for such a purpose. As the commerce of Liverpool is connected with almost every branch of modern navigation, it is believed that a "Marine Museum", such as has been formed in Paris, would be a considerable source of interest to both residents and visitors in the town.

It is proposed to illustrate the subject from a historical point of view, showing the art of navigation as practised amongst the principal nations of the ancient world, as well as the most recent developments and improvements of modern times. For this purpose the Committee will be glad to receive the loan of models of ships, boats, lighthouses, of all dates and countries; paintings, prints, or photographs of early or recent ships; charts and maps painted on parchment during the mediæval period, or printed during the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth centuries; pictures or photographs of the costumes of sailors of various countries and dates; flags of different nations, or coloured plates of the same, together with any diagrams showing methods of signalling; compasses of all nations, especially those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in ivory, wood, or metal, with sundials attached to them; diagrams or models showing modes of steering; coins and medals, upon which are figures of ancient ships; models of canoes, out-riggers, surf-boats, etc.; instruments connected with navigation, such as astrolabes, cross-staffs, back-staffs, quadrants, sextants, chronometers, sundials, ringdials, etc.; telescopes, especially those of early date; ship logs, etc.

Although this list is imperfect it will indicate the kind of objects suitable, and the Committee will be obliged for an early communication from anyone possessing such specimens, who will lend them for the Exhibition.

It is proposed to open the Exhibition in the lower rooms of the Walker Art Gallery, in the month of May, and to keep it open for about two months. The Committee will take every care of objects lent to them. All communications for further particulars to be addressed to Charles T. Gatty, Esq., F.S.A., the Museum, Liverpool.

Worcestershire Exhibition.—The Reports on the various sections of the Exhibition, under the sanction and authority of the General Committee, have been published in one volume, demy octavo, uniform with the catalogue, 200 pages, in paper covers, 1s. 6d.; in cloth, red edges, 2s. 6d. The Reports consist of an account of the principal objects of interest in the—1. Fine Arts Section by Mr. J. Comyns Carr, editor of *Art and Letters*, and English editor of *L'Art*. 2. Historical Section by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., British Museum. 3. Industrial Section by Mr. George Wallis, F.S.A., Keeper of the Art Collection, South Kensington Museum. The above reports are supplemented with special papers by the Rev. F. Hopkinson, LL.D., F.S.A., and the Rev. Canon A. H. Winnington Ingram, F.G.S., and an article, reprinted by permission from the *Athenæum*, by Mr. George Scharf, F.S.A., Keeper and Secretary, National Portrait Gallery. The introduction will consist of a review of the Exhibition movement, and of the Exhibition itself, leading up to the Reports, contributed by Mr. C. M. Downes, one of the Honorary Secretaries.

It is requested that orders for the Reports may be sent to W. E. Tucker and Co., Worcester, as early as possible.

North Riding of Yorkshire Record Society.—This Society, under the Presidency of the Earl of Zetland, has been formed with the object of printing and calendaring documents relating to the North Riding, primarily those now preserved in the Clerk of the Peace's office at Northallerton. Mr. J. Cordy Jeaffreson makes the following remarks in his report to the Magistrates of the North Riding on these important records. "Affording a variety of materials for the sufficient exhibition of the social history of the district to which they relate, the manuscripts are especially rich in three different classes of documents that enable the student to measure the numerical force, to estimate the material resources, and to observe the activity and resoluteness of the seventeenth century and eighteenth century Catholics, where the gentry and yeomanry throughout successive generations adhered with singular tenacity to the doctrines and usages of the unreformed church. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that the history of Catholic recusancy in the northern shires cannot be completely told until the presentments of Catholic recusants, the registrations of Catholics and estates, and the long series of recognizances taken of Catholics sus-

pected of disaffection, that are preserved in the sessional archives of the North Riding, shall have been duly examined and manipulated for the use of competent historians. The same archives abound also with testimony, obtainable in the same measure from no other source, respecting the local influence and activity of North Riding families."

The subscription is fixed at one guinea per annum. At least one volume will be issued to members in each year, which will be edited by the Rev. J. C. Atkinson, M.A., of Danby in Cleveland, whose labours in the field of antiquarian and historical research are well known and appreciated.

The Calendars cannot fail to be of value as books of reference, not only for antiquarians but for all those who are interested in genealogy, folk-lore, or statistics; it is anticipated that they will contain an immense amount of curious and original information relating to local history, the social status and condition of the people, obsolete statutes and usages, prosecutions of Roman Catholics and of members of the Society of Friends, together with many archaic words and phrases, place-names, and other matters of philological interest. Intending subscribers should correspond with Mr. William Brown, 26, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London.

A History of Bewdley, by JOHN R. BURTON, B.A., F.G.S., Rector of Dowles, will be published in the course of this year.—During the Tudor and Stuart periods the town of Bewdley was a place of great importance; and the Court of the Lords President of the Marches of Wales was held there alternately with Ludlow.

The old records of the borough, together with the registers of the parish of Ribbesford, throw much light upon the social, political, and religious life of our forefathers, giving vividness and reality to the general history of England; and when reading the *Chapel and Bridge-wardens' Accounts*—commencing in 1569 and filling a folio volume of more than 1,000 pages—we are involuntarily carried back into the past, and can, as it were, see some of the great events of history actually taking place before our eyes.

Beyond what is contained in two lectures, given for the benefit of the Ribbesford Church Restoration Fund, and in a paper read at Malvern before the members of the British Archæological Association, it is believed that these records have never been made known to the public; and the strong wish that has been expressed for the publication of the lectures has led to the preparation of this work.

Besides the original records, the valuable and extensive MSS. of Dr. Prattinton, Mr. Hayley, and George Jordan have been consulted; and all the important facts collected by those laborious investigators will be incorporated in the volume. Concise notices of the neighbour-

ing parishes of Wribbenhall, Mytton, Dowles, Rock, and Arley will also be given.

The book will be printed in clear type on toned paper; it will contain several illustrations by a permanent photographic process; and it will be bound in cloth boards, lettered. Only 300 copies will be printed, of which 280 are already taken. Price to subscribers, 7s. 6d.; to non-subscribers, 10s. Subscribers' names will be received by the Rev. J. R. Burton, Bewdley. All profits from the sale of the book will be given to the Fund for the Restoration of Dowles Church.

The History of the Parish of St. Petrock, Exeter, as shewn by its churchwardens' accounts and other records, by ROBERT DYMOND, F.S.A.—In deference to the wishes of numerous enquirers, a limited edition of this contribution to the *Transactions* of the Devonshire Association has been separately printed, with the addition of a very complete Index. The nature of its contents will be gathered from the description given in the notices on the publisher's prospectus.

Copies may be obtained at Mr. Townsend's, Little Queen Street, Exeter, or will be forwarded, free of cost, to subscribers, in the order in which remittances are received. Price 3s. 6d., bound in cloth, gilt-lettered and illustrated with engravings, including facsimile copies of ancient documents preserved in the church.

Bramshill: its History and Architecture, by Sir WILLIAM H. COPE, Bart.—It is proposed to publish by subscription—one guinea each copy—in a handsome crown quarto volume, the history of this interesting place, which will be traced from the eleventh century down to recent times, with notices of its successive owners and occupants. The architecture, external and internal, of the present mansion will be described, and some account of a more ancient edifice which preceded it; the traditions and legends of the place; notices of the venerable trees in the park; and of the tapestries, pictures, etc., will be given. The work will be illustrated by photographic views, plans, and architectural details.

The Old White Hart Inn Yard, Southwark, 1882.—Messrs. F. S. Nichols and Co., 14, Boro' High Street, London Bridge, S.E., have made arrangements with Mr. Percy Thomas to etch this interesting subject. The "White Hart Inn" dates back for some five centuries; is often mentioned by Shakespeare; was the head quarters in 1450 of the Kentish rebel, Jack Cade; and in our times has been inimitably described by Charles Dickens in the *Pickwick Papers*. The proof issue will be numbered and strictly limited. A fly-leaf of descriptive matter, by W. Rendle, Esq., F.R.C.S., Author of *Old Southwark and*

its People, will accompany each proof. It is expected that the proofs will be all subscribed before the issue of the etching. The names of the subscribers will be entered in the order received.

Chronograms, by JAMES HILTON, F.S.A.—The art of expressing dates by means of letters, and the employment of chronograms to commemorate the period of historical and interesting personal events, and in the title-pages of books, is of widely-spread occurrence, and was formerly common in many countries, but in the present day it is almost unknown or forgotten. The study of this method of chronicling history, and its application to current events, with the forms which the art has taken, and the uses to which it has been put, is well worthy of the close attention of the antiquary and the student.

It is believed that the present work is the first collection of chronograms that has ever been published on any extensive and systematic plan. The volume gives chronograms in several languages, ranging from the year 1208 to the present time, gleaned from the countries of Europe and from some in Asia, grouped under their different nationalities; and also gives references to nearly double this number, and to the works in which they may be found.

The examples given are taken from a great variety of sources, such as books, manuscripts, and inscriptions on medals, buildings, and monuments; in most cases translations are given in English, and in all instances the dates are appended in ordinary figures in the margin. Where needful, explanatory notes are added, and much curious and out of the way information is furnished whenever it throws light upon the circumstances under which the chronogram originated; an appendix on the bibliography of chronograms is also given, while a very copious index of subjects, names, and historical circumstances places the stores of information contained in the volume at the command of the reader. The work is to be obtained of Mr. Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

Prehistoric Stone Monuments.—The Rev. W. C. Lukis, F.S.A., has been engaged for years in surveying the rude stone monuments of Brittany, the Hunnebeds of Drenthe, and the same class of objects in the British Isles. He has completed the work in Cornwall and Devonshire, and is continuing it in other counties. Mr. Lukis has liberally placed the whole of his drawings at the disposal of the Society of Antiquaries of London. The Council propose to publish them in successive parts; and to begin with the county of Cornwall. *The Prehistoric Stone Monuments of Cornwall* will be imp. 4to., and comprise a map, forty chromo-lithographs to scale, and Mr. Lukis's descriptions of the plates, with a table (by Mr. W. C. Borlase, M.P., F.S.A.) of all the monuments, including those of less importance. Price to Fellows, 15s. The work will be published at 20s.

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JUNE 1883.

NOTICE OF SOME RECENTLY DISCOVERED ROMAN ANTIQUITIES AT SANXAY, NEAR POITIERS, IN FRANCE.

BY THE REV. PREBENDARY H. M. SCARTH, M.A., V.P.

(Read March 21, 1883.)

At a time when the discoveries of further remains of the ancient baths at Bath are attracting so much notice, and public attention has been called to those interesting remains illustrative of the Roman history of Britain, it may not be uninteresting to show what has been done in other countries in a similar direction, and especially in France, the ancient Gaul, which has a close relation to ancient Britain. Having seen a notice of the discoveries at Sanxay, near Poitiers, I determined to pay them a visit; and fortunately forming the acquaintance of M. Le Père de la Croix, who made the discovery, and has been at the sole expense hitherto incurred in uncovering the remains, I obtained a note from him to his overseer of the works.

Sanxay is about eighteen miles from Poitiers, by road, but there is a nearer approach from Lusignan, where one may go by rail, on the way from Poitiers to Niort. I found it more convenient however to drive there through a level country, slightly diversified by hill and woodland scenery, until approaching the old town of Sanxay on the small river Vonne. The village of Sanxay is situated in the domain of Boissière, on a rising ground on the northern banks of the little river, and the uncovered remains, which are distant about a mile from the village, consist, first, of a temple with the surrounding portico

or ambulatory. The façade measures about 250 English feet, and is approached by three flights of steps—one in the centre, which is the widest, and one on each side. Within the enclosure is the temple, having a triple colonnade in front, three rows of fluted pillars with richly ornamented capitals, of which only fragments remain. The total number of columns was sixty-six—three rows of twenty-two. The temple is in the form of a Greek cross, with an octagonal *cella*, a good portion of which still remains entire; at the end of this, and on each side as well as in front, are projections which form the cross.

In the centre is the place where the statue of the Divinity was placed, which appears, from a well-cut fragment of inscription found on the site of the temple, to have been that of Apollo, corresponding to the Gaulish Hesus, or Esus. The place of sacrifice was in front of the *cella*, and on one side of it was a building, or stable, where the victims were placed before being offered. All this is distinctly laid open. Immediately below the place of sacrifice is a fine drain, 6 feet in height, to carry off the water used in cleansing the temple and its surroundings, and also a large reservoir which supplied the adjacent baths as well as the temple. The peculiarity of the temple is the form, unlike that of any other similar building hitherto found, and suggests the idea that the form of some early Christian churches has been taken from that of earlier temples, or the temples adapted, where convenient, to Christian uses, after purification.

The next range of buildings forms the baths, which have large hypocausts, or heating chambers, and cover a large extent of ground, and seem to have had additions made to them. On the south side of the baths has been found a large *hôtellerie* with chambers, covering about seven acres, for the accommodation of those frequenting the baths and the temple. The underground passages are quite perfect, but the flooring of the bath chambers has been taken up and burnt into lime. A large kiln has been found used for this purpose after the city became ruined, and pieces of sculptured stone found within it. A second kiln, for the same purpose, has also been found in the ruins. The city is supposed to have been destroyed by fire in the first half of the fifth century; and the coins and medals that have been found reach from Hadrian to

that date, a period between three and four hundred years.

The third portion of these interesting remains that has been uncovered is the theatre, on the slope of the hill that rises on the southern side of the river, and the seats are formed out of the rock in the declivity of the hill, reaching to the summit. The stage or arena is perfect, and quite circular, unlike the usual form of Greek or Roman theatres, but the acoustic principles are carefully observed, as every word can be heard from any point of the enclosure; and there is a large room close behind the stage. The seats range only above half the enclosure, but the arena seems to have been adapted to feats of horsemanship as well as scenic performances. The masonry is of excellent quality, and the stones all worked to one size. The seats will accommodate 7,000 or 8,000 persons, so that the city must have had a very large population; but it seems to have been unwalled, for no traces of any enclosure have been found. The inference is that it was a place of resort for religious purposes or for health or pleasure. It is situated in a forest district, and is supposed to have been one of the spots used as places of assembly by the ancient Gauls. In fact it was in trying to ascertain the situation of one of these places of assembly that Mons. de la Croix found the Gallo-Roman remains at Sanxay. The public spirit and liberality of this gentleman cannot be too highly commended; he has not only defrayed all the cost of uncovering, but has himself drawn and planned all the remains discovered, and he purposes to erect a Museum on the spot if the French Government will undertake the further cost of excavation.

If the efforts of a single individual can effect so much, may we not hope that a joint effort made in Bath may effect much more? The remains of the ancient baths uncovered hitherto in Bath are of greater extent than those at Sanxay, and the work more massive, and perhaps earlier than at Sanxay. The extent of frontage of the baths at that place does not exceed 125 yards, by a depth of about 35; but what has been already found in Bath much exceeds this, and the plan is much more regular, and much remains still to be discovered. If the researches

in Bath can be continued, they will prove not less instructive than the discoveries at Sanxay. The character of the two places has much similarity. They were not occupied, as most large stations, by a military force, but were resorts for health and recreation, for leisure and personal enjoyment. It is not impossible that Bath possessed a theatre in Roman times, but no traces of it have been found. Verulam is the only place where such remains have been exposed to view, but there must have been many in Roman Britain.

No doubt the tribes in Britain had places of assembly for judicial purposes, as well as those in Gaul. Stonehenge, Abury and Stanton Drew are regarded as points of tribal meeting; but may not Bath also have originally been one of them? The Romans, who did not roughly violate national religious feeling, but adapted it to their own system, may have superseded the old British worship of *Sul* by incorporating it with that of *Sul Minerva*. There seems little reason to doubt that Sanxay was the ancient place of meeting for the tribe of the Pictons or Pictavi, where deputies were chosen to represent that tribe at the general meeting "in Finibus Carnutum", which, as Cæsar tells us, represented the whole Gaulish nation. The connection of *Sul* with *Minerva*, and the altars found at Bath dedicated to their deity, lead us to think that the Romans, finding the British deity already worshipped on the spot, united with *Sul* their own divinity *Minerva*, and substituted, as at Sanxay, their own refinements and polished luxury for the ruder religious rites of the Belgic Britons. Roman manners and Roman religious rites were made by degrees to supersede the ancient worship and habits of the Britons.

No plans have yet been published of these discoveries at Sanxay. They are indeed not yet completed, but Père de la Croix keeps them at the farm where the diggings are carried out, and adds from time to time what they reveal. They are placed there for examination by visitors. Photographs are also being taken, but when I was there none had been issued for sale.

The only publications that have yet appeared are: "*Rapport fait à la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest sur les Fouilles du R. P. de la Croix à Sanxay*, par M. de la

Marsonnière, Poitiers. Imprimerie Générale de l'Ouest, Paris, 103, Rue Montmartre", which is sold at the diggings; and "*Quelques Notes sur les Fouilles du P. de la Croix à Sanxay*, par M. Joseph Berthelé, Archiviste du département des Deux Sèvres, Niort. Imprimerie de Eugène Robichon, 1882." This was given me by the Père de la Croix.

I conclude he will himself, in due time, give full details, but he has just brought out (or was on the point of bringing out) "*Hypogée-Martyrium de Poitiers*" of which he showed me the proofs, and told me it would appear in December. These remains are in the Museum at Poitiers, which contains a very interesting collection of Roman antiquities found at Poitiers and in the neighbourhood.

Those found at Sanxay are, I believe, chiefly kept on the spot, and I believe it is the wish of P. de la Croix that a Museum should be built there.

I may add, in conclusion, that at Poitiers extensive remains of an amphitheatre exist, but these are only to be traced in cellars, the site having been covered with houses, and the walls used for ages as a quarry. The area, however, must have been considerable, and shews the importance of the place in Roman times, and the extent to which Roman manners and customs prevailed among the Pictones.

I had not much time in the Museum, and found difficulties in the way of copying or taking notes. I got, however, the following inscription from a Roman milliary:

IMP. CAES. DIV. ...
 ... ANI FIL DIVIT
 PARTHIC NEPO
 NERVAE PRON
 HADRIAN ANT
 AVG. PIVS PMT
 III

FIN

XI.

There is at present no catalogue of the remains in the Museum, and this is indeed the great "desideratum" of all the Continental Museums. I do not know if this milliary is recorded in *Corpus Inscript.* (Mommson's), and have not, since my return, had an opportunity of searching.

ON THE PLYMOUTH MUNICIPAL RECORDS.

BY R. N. WORTH, ESQ., F.G.S., PRESIDENT OF THE
PLYMOUTH INSTITUTION.

(*Read August 1882.*)

THE Municipal Records of Plymouth were, some time since, examined by Mr. J. C. Jeaffreson, on behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Commission; and his report, which may be expected to appear in the next volume issued by the Commissioners, might seem to render any further notice unnecessary. I do not think, however, the time will be wasted that may be occupied in briefly stating the character and extent of our Corporation Archives; and in any case Mr. Jeaffreson's report must be unavoidably incomplete, from the fact that, when he visited Plymouth, the muniments were in great confusion, whereas now they have been systematically arranged; while a valuable book of accounts, lost for a century and a half, has since been recovered, and a large quantity of documents brought to light from the corners in which they had been cast some eighty years ago.

In the first place I have to speak of our losses. I hardly imagine that any town in the further West of England possessed a more valuable series of records than Plymouth. They would not go back so far, indeed, as those of Exeter, Totnes, or Barnstaple, nor would they have the same extent and local value as those of the "ever-faithful" city, but as illustrations of the national life in some of its grander epochs they would have been almost unrivalled in the kingdom. The reputation of the port in the earlier French wars, and the fact that it was the leading maritime town in "the spacious days of Great Elizabeth," sufficiently indicate this, and there still remain of this latter period sufficient traces to show how great our loss has been. The very importance of Plymouth and the prominent part it has played—paradox as this may appear—has been one of the chief causes of the disappearance of records that would be now almost invaluable.

We cannot tell when Plymouth first became a borough.

It was formally incorporated, as we now know it, by Act of Parliament 18th Henry VI (1439-40); and from that date to the present day records of various kinds are extant. But there was a corporation, in part at least of the town, long before that. The bailiffs and commonalty wrote to the King, May 31, 1289, concerning the preparation of a ship for his service. Richard the Tanner was "prepositus" of Sutton (the elder name of Plymouth) in 1310; the seal of the commonalty of "Svttvn syper Plymmvth" occurs on an extant deed of 1368; and whether as headmen, mayors, or portreeves, the names of about a score of chief burgesses of the town, prior to the Act Charter, have been recovered, from casual mention in deeds and the like, though not an original municipal record of this date exists, and the oldest document in the possession of the Corporation is a conveyance of a messuage in Old Town, dated 1381.

Whatever the origin of the municipality of Plymouth, the Crown had nothing to do with it until the incorporation of 1439-40. Edward II proposed in 1319 to make it a free borough, but was resisted by the lords—the Prior of Plympton as owner of Sutton Prior, and the Valletorts as the owners of Sutton Vawter,—and more than a century and a half elapsed before the town of Sutton Prior, the hamlet of Sutton Vawter, and the tithing of Sutton Raf, were incorporated as the borough of Plymouth. At the date of that incorporation there must have been a body of municipal and other records of some importance, for there were various gilds in existence,—a Gild Merchant, the Gild of our Lady and St. George, and the Gild of Corpus Christi at least—but not one original paper or parchment remains, and only a few copies. We are in much the same position with regard to the earlier records of the present Corporation. There is hardly an original document extant dating before 1486. In this year, however, commence the accounts of the Receivers of the borough, which are practically complete from that period to the present time. Had I written this paper two years ago I should have had to lament the existence of a gap between 1570 and 1658; but in January 1881 there was found among the muniments of the Morshead family, at Widey Court, near Plymouth, a

tattered volume, which on being shown to me was at once recognised as the "missing link." There is no evidence that it had been in the possession of the Corporation since the middle of the last century, but directly its identity was pointed out it was restored, and it has just been repaired and bound in the most admirable manner by Mr. Walker. There are some other accounts of the end of the fifteenth century, chiefly relating to works connected with the church of St. Andrew; but the most valuable records of this period are to be found in an old book, which some one seems to have kept as a kind of commonplace or day book for the entry of miscellaneous matters; and this contains notices of the proceedings of Manor Courts, of the Borough and Pie Poudre Courts, of inquests by Simon Carswell, coroner (whom I suspect to have been the writer), copies of various deeds, some of considerable interest and value, the earliest borough rental, commencing 6th Henry VII, precepts and warrants concerning the water of Sutton Pool, a very curious abstract in English of the Charter of Henry VI, and a copy of the earliest noted bye-laws. Some of the entries in this book are as early as 38th Henry VI; and it contains the oldest series of contemporary records now in the possession of the Corporation.

Next in point of date, but first in importance, is the ancient *Town Ligger*, a bulky volume in oak boards and tattered pigskin, long known by the name of the *Black Book*. This is probably the new "lygger", for which, and writing therein all that was in the old, twenty shillings was paid in 1535-1536. It commences, "Jesus Christus. Liber maioris et Communitatis burgi de Plymouthe in Com. Devon." The earliest current entries refer to the year 1540, but it contains copies of the charter and of a number of ancient documents of importance relating to the town, for which in most cases it is now the sole authority. The *Black Book* was evidently intended to be a repertory of all matters of note relating to the community,—proclamations, bye-laws, Acts of Parliament, gild orders, assessments, with lists of mayors and freemen; while eventually it came to be used also as a registry, in which deeds relating to private properties in the town were enrolled by the town clerk—no doubt

duly feed—for safe keeping. All communications from the King or Court were not only to be entered “for the good gyding of the towne”, but every article in the “lygger” was to be read once a quarter or twice a year in the hall, “for the good remembraunce and good rule of the same to be hadde”—an order which it is impossible can ever have been literally fulfilled. A very important feature of the *Black Book* is the fact that it became the custom to enter under each mayoralty brief memoranda of leading local and national events. The book continued to be used as a record of the mayoralties down to 1709, and its lists of freemen are continued to 1658. Without it, much of the early history of Plymouth would be a complete blank; and one of its entries supplies the first clue to the disappearance of the older records. It notes that Plymouth had been burnt three times (by the French and Bretons), in 1377, 1400, and 1403; and under the mayoralty of Richard Hooper, 1548-9, states that the town was assailed by the western rebels for the restoration of Catholicism—“then was our stepell burnt wth all the townes evydence in the same by Rebelles.” All that seems to have been then preserved, with the exception of a few scattered documents, was the books in current use. To us it is a poor satisfaction that the townsfolk not only drove the rebels out of the town, but chased them into Cornwall, and brought back one unfortunate wretch, called in the Receivers’ Accounts the “Traytor of Cornwall”, who was hung, drawn, and quartered on the Hoe, as the central figure in a grand public holiday.

Next in importance to the *Black Book* is the *White Book*, a volume given to the town by John Ford, mayor in 1555, and used from 1560 down to 1754 for the entry of bye-laws and orders of the “twelve and twenty-four”, the familiar names of the aldermen and councillors, and of the sessions. These orders are for the most part signed by those who made them.

There are a number of letters from the Privy Council and various persons of note of the reign of Elizabeth still extant; but only a very small proportion of those which we know to have existed; and the number of important documents of this period that have disappeared must be very large. There is only one autograph letter

of Sir Francis Drake, whereas there must have been scores; and though there are several papers of various kinds connected with William Hawkins, Sir John is all but unrepresented. We have, however, autographs of nearly all the statesmen of the Elizabethan Court; and of local notables from this period downward the autographic representation is complete.

I have thus far said nothing about the Charters. The oldest now in the possession of the Corporation is that of Mary (1st year), which is gorgeously if not handsomely illuminated. There are also charters of Elizabeth (43rd), James I (12th), Charles I (3rd), Charles II (19th and 36th), and William III, the present governing charter of the town. Of the charters before Mary, those of Henry VI, Richard III, and Edward IV, there are only copies. The originals probably perished either when the "stepell" was burnt by the rebels, or fell victims to the malice of a Totnes man, who came down to Plymouth in 1601-2, and burnt a record chest in the Council Chamber. The present charter chest dates from about this period. Here is the entry from the Receivers' Accounts.

"Item rec' of Nicholas Goodridge of Totnes m'rchaunte vppon an agreement made between the Towne & him for an offence Comitted by him the said Nicholas in burning of a cheste in the Councill chamber wherein were Contayned divers evidences and writings Concerninge the Toune, *cli*.

It is, probably, to this severely punished piece of arson (the fine would be equivalent to nearly £600 now) that one William Jennens and John Warren, in the course of a suit with the Corporation, referred, when they declared about 1665 that the town records had been burnt some seventy years previously.

From the early part of the seventeenth century, the current Corporation books are fairly complete, and there are a few of what may be termed the day books, which it was the custom to destroy, with the vouchers generally, when they had been produced and examined at the annual audit. The most interesting volume of seventeenth century accounts is one which belonged to the Committee of Defence, at the time of the siege of Plymouth by the Royalist party, containing a full statement of their expenditure from February 1644-5 to January 1645-6 (the

siege itself lasted with intervals over three years). I do not know of the existence anywhere else of a similar record; it is well worthy of being printed at length. Among other documents that may be noted are the original warrants for the "regulation" of the Corporation in 1662; and the entry in one of the books of the Borough Court of "all those who came into open Court," June 4, 1660, at the restoration of Charles II, and declared "their humble acceptance of His Majesty's gracious pardon." Very few of them, however, were able to satisfy the Commissioners of Regulation. The papers of the Borough Court, which came to an end in 1842, date back to the reign of Henry VII, but there are only a few of the older ones left. The Court books now extant commence in 1636, and some of the volumes contain most quaint illustrations of manners and customs in old Plymouth. There are some very curious entries respecting the style in which "conventicles" and their frequenters were dealt with under the second Charles and James.

The wonder rather is, not that so much has been lost, but that we have so much left. The records passed through a worse peril than even the fires raised by the Western rebels or by Nicholas Goodridge, when the sometime old Guildhall, now the Free Library, replaced its Jacobean predecessor at the commencement of the present century. Probably books were taken some care of, but we are told that the accumulated papers were thrown into heaps in the streets, and carted off, and that whoever cared to do so helped themselves at pleasure. There may be a little exaggeration here, but if the story were not essentially true it would be impossible to account for the almost entire absence of current letters and papers during the eighteenth century, whereas those since that date, and a small proportion of the older ones, have been preserved. When this penultimate Guildhall was finished and the records moved back again, confusion became almost worse confounded. There was no room to arrange them properly, and a lot of loose papers were thrust under the roof, where they remained for many a long year, until they came into my hands in a condition more easily imagined than described.

The first attempt to arrange the Municipal Records

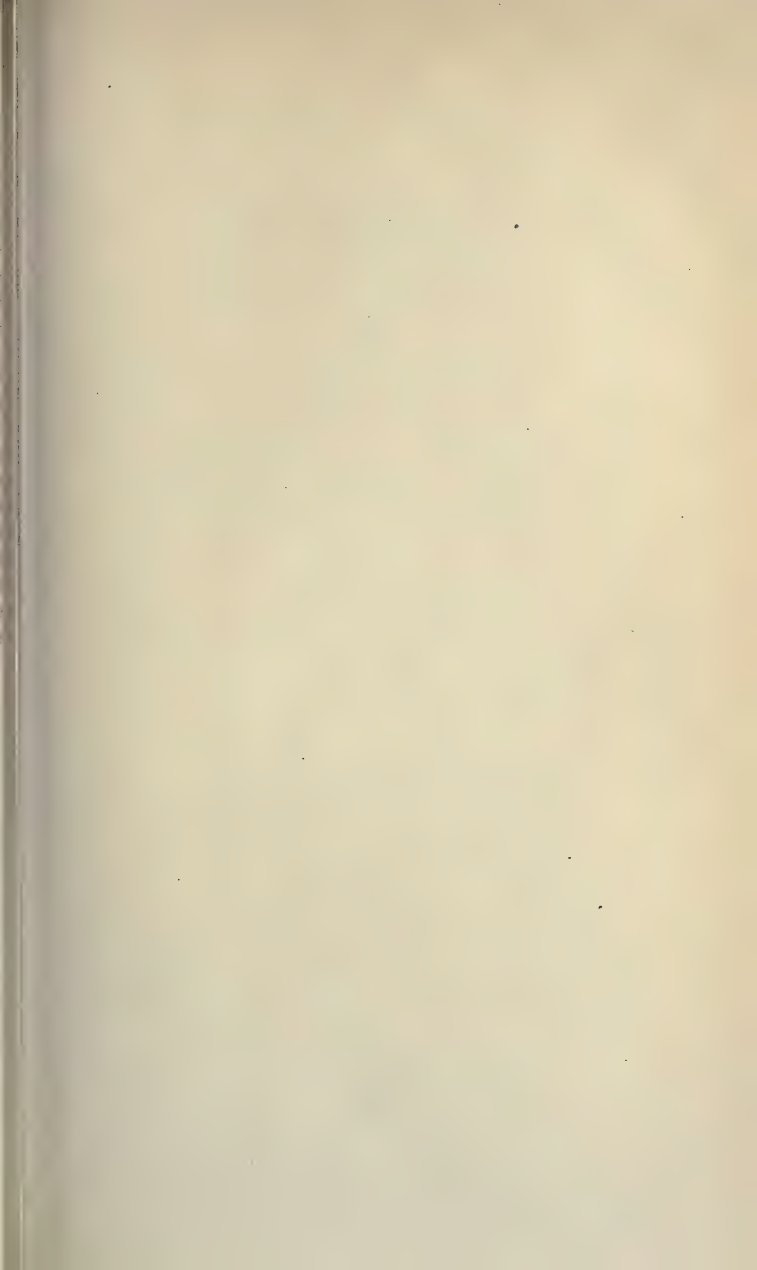
was made in 1813, when a committee was appointed, and did much valuable work. Insufficient space, however, prevented them from carrying out their intentions fully; and meantime deeds and papers went on rapidly accumulating. When the late Mr. Henry Woolcombe, F.S.A., was appointed Recorder, he continued the task which he had commenced as a member of this committee; and by him a large number of loose papers and parchments were carefully preserved and mounted in two portfolios. He utilised his researches also by writing the first history of Plymouth, which remains in MS. at the Athenæum of the Plymouth Institution. More than he did, it was impossible, with the very limited office facilities of the old building, then to do; but when the present Guildhall was projected, a large and well lighted muniment room was provided; and the papers and books of the old Corporation—that is, down to 1835—are now separately classified and arranged in such a manner that, with the help of an index catalogue prepared by myself, any document may be turned to without difficulty or delay. Following the plan adopted at the Record Office, a number of miscellaneous papers are mounted in a book according to date, and as an illustration of the valuable bits of history that may turn up in odd and “scrappy” ways, I may mention that one of the papers found in the collection under the roof contains the name of Theodore Palæologus as resident in Old Town Ward, and assessed to the poor in a halfpenny a month. This “last descendant of the Greek emperors of Constantinople” lies in Landulph Church. How he came to the West has never been clearly made out. It is one step towards the solution of the mystery, now that it is for the first time made public that he was a resident in Plymouth, and by his assessment, in comparatively humble circumstances.

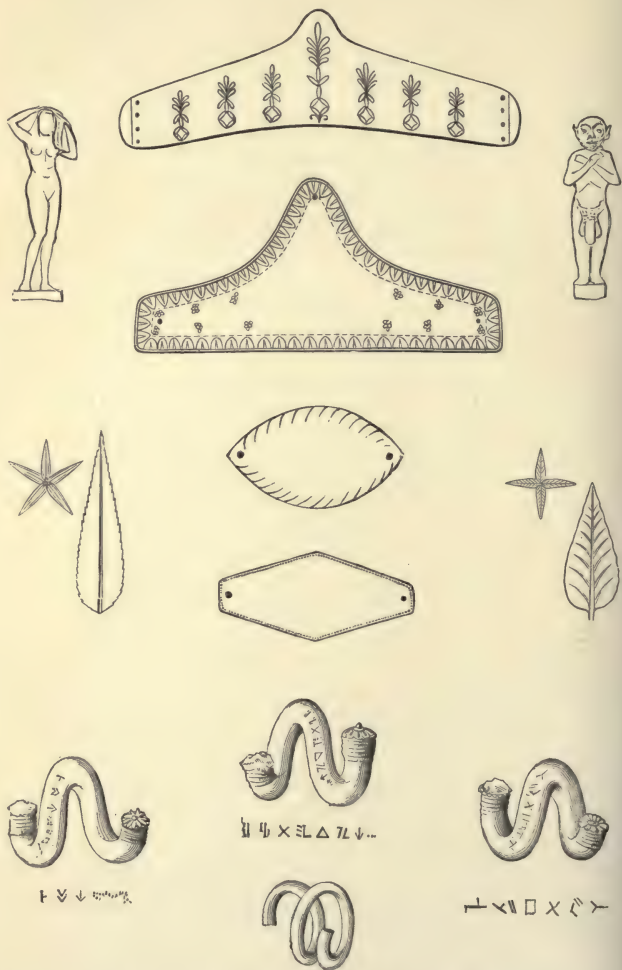
A word or two in conclusion about the Corporate insignia. There are three large maces of silver gilt, all dating from the reign of Queen Anne, and the largest considered, *teste* the entry of an enthusiastic municipal officer, when it was presented by Col. Jory, the finest in the kingdom. They replaced maces which had been sold by one William Roche, amoved from the mayoralty for

malpractice ; but these were subsequently recovered and again sold. These maces, however, only dated from the reign of Charles II. Some suggestive entries occur in the Borough Accounts of the end of the fifteenth century relating to the mace then in use. It needed repair so frequently that one is forced to the belief that its bearer, "rystaffer," employed it as something more than a mere formal terror to evil doers. The Mayor's chain of office was purchased in 1803, in which year the freemen of the borough successfully vindicated their right to elect the Mayor, after it had been usurped by the Corporation for at least three centuries. The Corporation plate consists of two silver cups—the Union Cup given by John White of London in 1585, and Sir John Gayer's cup, given in 1648. Both White and Gayer were liberal benefactors to the town. White's cup is inscribed "The gyft of John Whit of London, Haberdasher, to the Mayor of Plymouth and his brethren for ever, to drinke crosse one to y^e other at their Feastes and Meetinges. Dated ye 5th of June 1585."

Two of the borough seals date from the fifteenth century. The larger is rudely executed, bearing for device three figures under three perpendicular canopies—St. Andrew in the centre ; and on either side an angel with a shield, one bearing the cross of St. George, and the other the Royal arms. In the exergue is a shield of the arms of the borough, *argent* a saltire *vert* between four castles *sable*, with lion supporters. The legend runs, THE : COMEN : SELLE : OF : THE : BOROVGH : & : COMENALTE : OF : Y^r : KYNGS : TOWNE : OF : PLYMOTHE. I suspected, some years since, from the style, that this was not the original inscription, and the accidental preservation, in part, of an impression attached to a deed 18th Edward IV now shows that I was correct ; and that the first legend, which is too imperfect to be made out, was in black letter and not in Roman characters. I cannot help believing that this seal is older than the incorporation by Henry VI, possibly used by the authorities under the Prior of Plympton, or belonging to one of the gilds ; and that it was first adopted and afterwards adapted by the new Corporation. It is far more ecclesiastical in character, than municipal. The other seal to which I refer is a much better piece of

work—a shield of the town arms surmounted by a crown of fleurs-de-lis, the sides filled in with Gothic tracery, and with a legend in black letter, “S: officij : majoratus : bvirgi: villæ:.... de: Plymovth.” The letters wanting have been purposely cut away; but we learn from the Visitation of 1620 that they were “dni regis”, and the defacement probably dates from the Commonwealth. At the date of the Visitation this Mayor’s seal is said to have been the common seal; after the restoration, the St. Andrew seal was taken into favour again, if indeed it had ever been wholly abandoned. There was a far earlier seal than either of these, of which only one impression remains, to a deed of 1368, and this bears for device a ship on the waves, the arms given to the town in the Visitation of 1574. The modern seal combines both devices; the castles and lions having been put on board the ship for cargo, and the crown of fleurs-de-lis adapted as a crest. The ship has three masts, each surmounted by a fire beacon. I have only to add that in 1310 the town had no seal, so that Richard the Tanner and “prepositus” used his instead.





GOLDEN DIADEMS, FIGURINES, EYE-PIECES, LEAVES OF FILLETS, AND TWISTED FIBULÆ.

ON SPECIMENS OF ANCIENT GOLDSMITHS' ART FOUND IN CYPRUS.

BY MAJOR A. P. DI CESNOLA, F.S.A.

(*Read December 6, 1882.*)

WHEN I offered to show this Association (of which I have the honour to be a member) the ancient gold ornaments found by me in the island of Cyprus between the years 1876-79, my friends the Hon. Secretaries told me I must say a few words upon them. Hereupon a great embarrassment arose, not only for the selection of the subject, but to read the English language well is extremely difficult for a foreigner who has only been in England three years. I will, however, quote their words to me. "The English say, where there is no difficulty there is no merit, and we will answer for the indulgence of our members." English indulgence and kindness are well known to me, and through this I take courage to say a few words, trusting you will show every leniency to my endeavours, and excuse my pronunciation, which is to me the most difficult part of the English language.

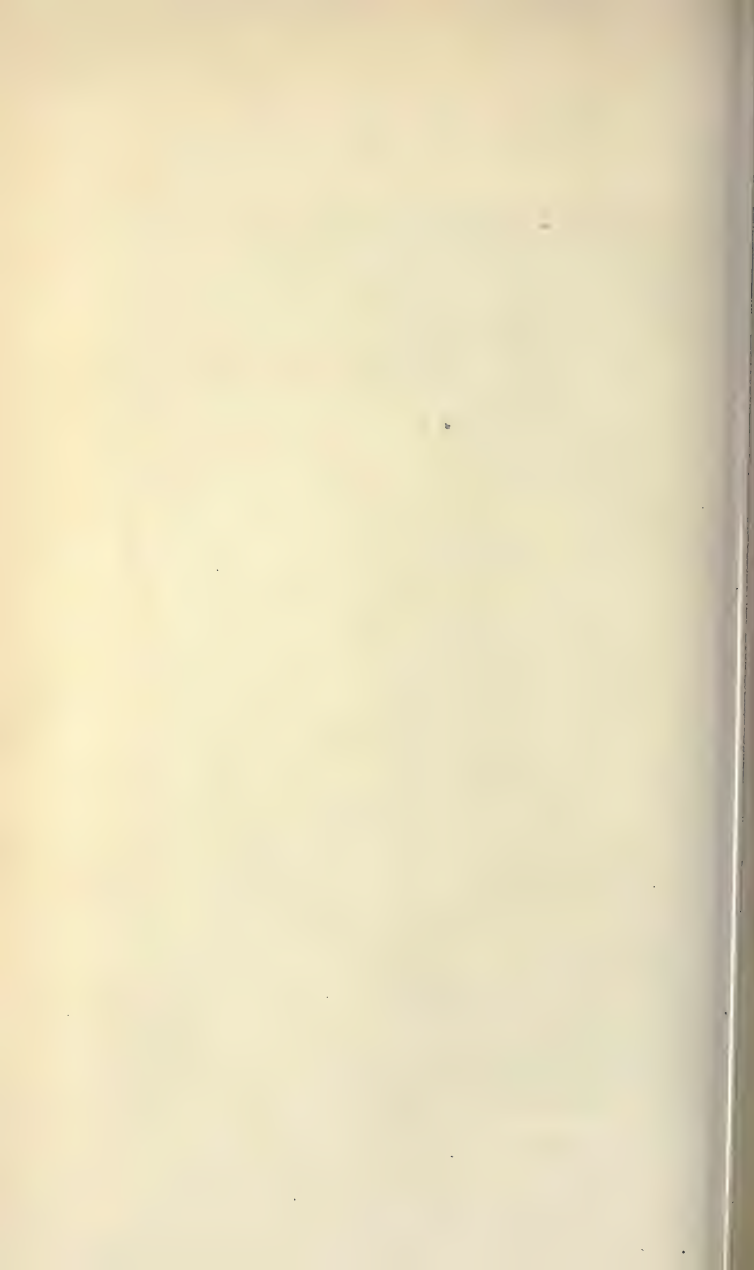
When I took up my pen to write a short description, I came across another question, and I said to myself, Have I to speak of the ancient people who made part of these gold ornaments, or of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans? The first are too dark and unknown; the second and last are too well known; so I decided to take for my subject the Phœnicians, a people of whom, within the last century, all enlightened nations have been studying the works, and particularly in this country learned people are taking great interest in all that is discovered concerning them. The Phœnicians, according to ancient tradition from the Semiti, have descended from the most ancient epoch. They inhabited the coast of Arabia in the Persian Gulf. About twenty centuries before Christ, part of the race of Assur, which took the particular name of Cusciti, started from Babel, and ascended the river Tigris, to place their tents in the province which they denominated Assyria. In like manner they left the Persian Gulf to establish

themselves all round the sea-shore of the Mediterranean. The road which was traversed by them is, I think, the same that is used now by caravans, and which road is principally used by the pilgrims when they go to Mecca. This is the only trace of the ancient road which then existed. The sea, where many of these folks built their first huts, seemed most attractive to them, and they were so enthusiastic about it that they had no regret for the parts they had left. This site was the first beautiful bay in the Mediterranean, where ends the southern part of Cape Peloponnesus, which extends to the northern direction of Cerinica in Cyprus. Through the nature of this spot (it appeared to be found to accustom people to navigation), they were convinced that the sea was not created to divide people, but for them to associate with one another. From every side of the sea-shore where they had established themselves they could see many other shores, and in continuation many islands, one after another, a little distance from each other, rendering it very easy to transfer their wares from one place to the other without any danger. It was quite an inducement to navigation even for the most timid men, and also an excellent school for future great enterprises.

Those who took up their residence on the shore of the foot of Lebanon had erected the towns of Arad, Gebel, Berito, and Sidon. They saw on the opposite side a ridge of mountains and a long shore, which was the island of Cyprus. About this time the first visit of Phœnicians to Cyprus took place. This emigration, perhaps, was due to the increase of the population in their fatherland, which was the reason that part of this race had to search for a new home in other lands. In taking up their new residence on the shore of the Mediterranean, between two of the largest and most civilised nations in the world, they showed that they knew very well how important it was to them for commercial matters. When the before-named towns were built, and principally after the founding of Sidon, all commerce from Central Asia came to these new shores. They were accustomed in their own land to make commercial exchanges, and this continued with their two neighbours, as they were much attracted by the new and curious things brought to them. Here



PHENICIAN GLASS VASE, WITH GOLDEN MOUTH-PIECE.



was born that commerce for which the Phœnicians were so greatly renowned, and which still continues as in the history of ancient times. To the activity of the Sidonian people this was due, for certainly they had all the merit for having pushed to a great degree science, art, and commerce, principally the latter. It was Sidon which taught the world the first use of the alphabet, weights, and also numbers, and the way to use them in commercial details.

The system of Egyptian writing in these early times was very difficult. The Phœnicians who had occasion to communicate with the Egyptians in the course of trade or commerce, had recourse to the employment of pictorial or ideographic signs and symbols in order to obtain the things they required from their customers, who could not understand their language. Every one can imagine what time it took, and what a good memory was required, when each word had a separate sign. The Phœnicians, with study, in course of time surmounted this difficulty by inventing twenty-two signs which by combination formed a very simple method of expressing ideas and wishes. The alphabet made in this manner was one of the principal importations to other countries; in fact it came into use with every one who was connected with them. From this originated all the alphabets of the world, from India to Spain. In this manner the ideographical writing became syllabic.

The Sidonians were the first people who seemed to understand it was useful to extend the commerce, not only for their country, but with other countries. For this purpose they visited all islands around them. They occupied Cyprus with a colony who took possession of the shore, and chased the inhabitants to the other side of the mountain; they built or rebuilt Kittium, and afterwards Amathus and Paphos, three of the most important cities of ancient Cyprus. The island at this time was one of the most fertile, and rich in water and forests. Cyprus had not suffered then, as it did many centuries after, from great earthquakes which destroyed all prosperity, and reduced the island, which had been the first, to the last, in the Mediterranean. A learned Frenchman tells us what was the custom there in these early times. When

the first people visited the island, beautiful young women received the new arrivals on the shore and gave their love in return for their gifts, which they divided into three parts, one for the church, one for the poor and unfortunate, and the last share for themselves. These gifts were destined to form marriage portions and to maintain the temples. Thus it is supposed that many of these foreigners established themselves in the island, and perhaps in this manner the first colony was formed. The beauty of these young women and the charming site of the island were the cause of its being called "The Gardens of Venus". I think Kittium was the first place they arrived at, and where they originally abode in the island, it being the nearest point to the two coasts, and also because no ruins remain there now, at least there are none to be seen. At Amathus and Paphos there are still ancient remains. We know the Phœnicians were excellent merchants, navigators, and discoverers of new lands, but up to this time we have nothing to prove that they founded any empire. None of the diggings yet have given any light upon this point, the only thing we know of them is that they founded colonies on all sides, maintaining all correspondence and business, more as agents of their fatherland, probably in the same manner as they had done with their ancestors on their arrival in the Mediterranean.

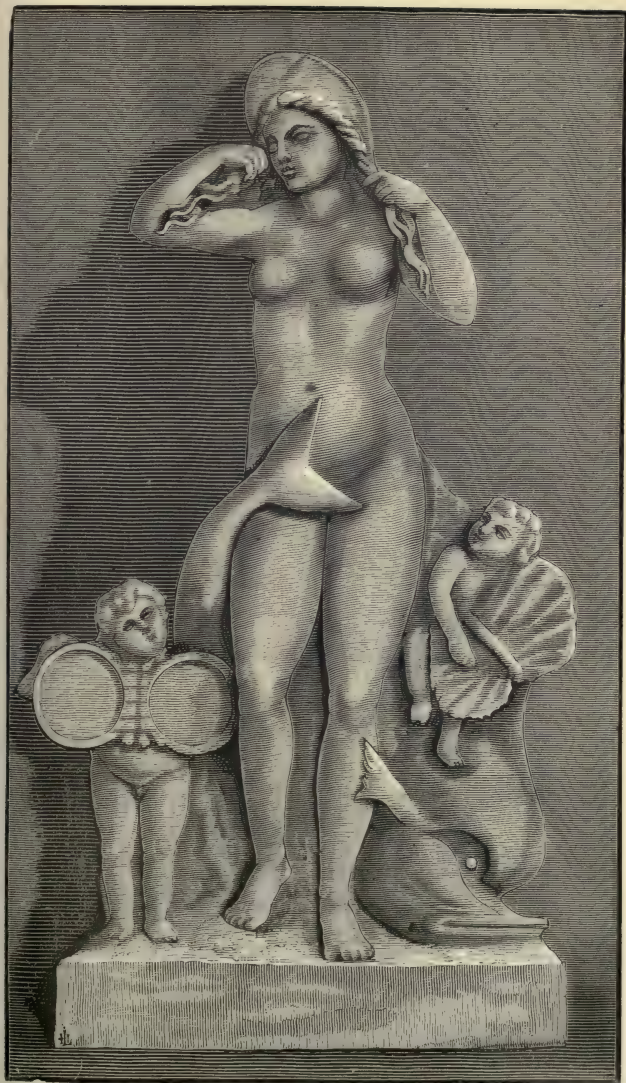
I think these people dispersed themselves into so many colonies at a great distance between each other that they were not strong enough to form a government themselves. What is certain is that they had three castes—sacerdotes, nobles, and soldiers. The latter scarcely existed, having but very little power in the rule of state, and only in the last century of the Phœnician life did their power appear. Probably this was the cause of their ruin. Sidon, Tyre, and other towns appeared to be ruled by means of a Senate, composed partly of old men who had retired from their long life in navigation, and who had great experience, knowledge, and civilisation of other people. There are no proofs of hereditary monarchs, but perhaps kings were elected. In spite of the fact that the Phœnicians had many good qualities, they were not much esteemed by

other people, being considered insincere—perhaps this was due to the extraordinary tales they used to relate about themselves and their fatherland, and also because there were pirates amongst them; possibly they were not a warlike nation, and all other nations at that time were warriors, therefore commercial people were not much considered. It was, I think, the same thing in respect to their arts—they had no proper school for these. Native Phœnician art, to my idea, did not exist, their work was always influenced by the art of that part of the country where it was done; they never practised fine arts, such as the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and others. Their sculpture was primitive and mediocre, and their copies were done badly. Commerce absorbed everything, and they had no time to study art properly, in having a school like other nations. The Bible teaches us that Solomon employed the Phœnicians to work at his temple, but I am of opinion it was for material work only, they having knowledge of every different kind of art existing at that time, but not for fine art. I base my idea of this upon no work of art of theirs having been found, up to the present day, which would entitle them to this qualification.

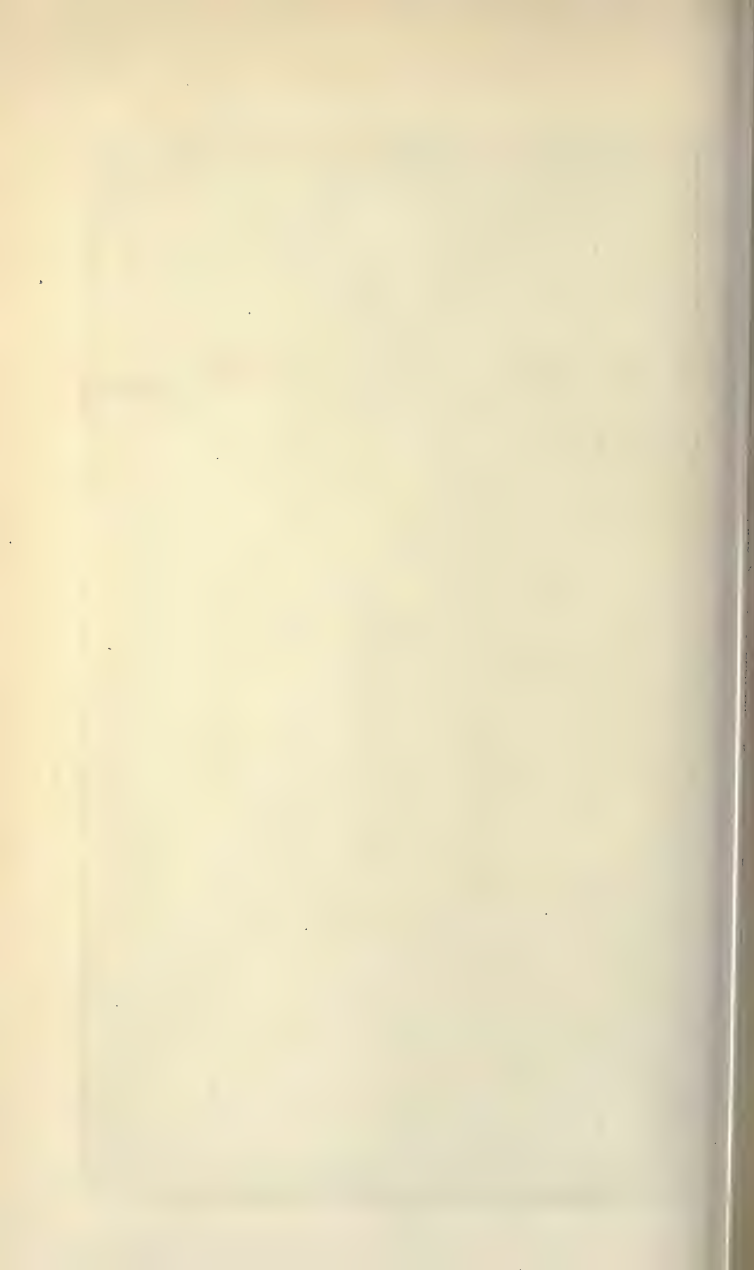
The objects which these people had brought with them were supposed to consist of terra-cotta vases, glass, ivory, gold, bronze, precious stones, pearls, mother-of-pearl, and beautiful tissue made by the women; the primitive patterns are even now still in use in the east, and the genuine ones are generally found on ancient pottery, principally on the cinerary urns. It is certain that if the Phœnicians were not inventors of glass, they made specimens peculiar and particular to themselves; their art consisted in amalgamating many different colours in the most beautiful manner, making objects such as beads, necklaces, and other ornaments for women, very cheaply, and of excellent appearance, which brought them very good commerce with other people. Some of their glass also they painted very finely by hand; and in my diggings in Cyprus I had the fortune to find a few rare specimens. I have the pleasure of showing a drawing of four, one of which is considered unique and of great value. Tradition speaks also of another kind of glass, which was considered to be permeable, of the same ap-

pearance as our present india-rubber. My predecessors at Cyprus thought they only had found a few of these specimens, but in my diggings at Tremitus I came across the same, and with accurate examination I became convinced that it was only ordinary glass burnt by fire, which had been enclosed in a box covered with iron. I think the idea about this glass is one of the famous tales which the Phœnicians used to relate of their fatherland.

These people carried their objects to different parts in small boats with one large sail, which they directed by the wind, which they knew was subject to certain laws, and blew in certain quarters in certain seasons of the year; the Polar Star was also known to them. The objects which they manufactured they exchanged for other things which they had not, and which were needful for their work; for example, they went to the coast of Spain to obtain tin, which they required for the composition of bronze; gold they procured in the Island of Thesus; silver at Cimolo, etc. On the sea-shore they found a purple colour which they used to dye wool in the most beautiful manner. Purple has been one of the most highly prized of all colours, and came to be the symbol of imperial power. Probably one great reason for this was the enormous cost of the only purple colour known to the Phœnicians, which was obtained in minute quantities only from a Mediterranean species of molluscous animal or shell fish, the "Murex Limaculus", and perhaps also "Purpura Lapillus". In the time of Cicero, wool double-dyed with this colour was called *dibapha*, and was so extremely dear that a single English pound weight cost a thousand denarii, or about £35. A single murex only yields a small drop of the secretion; consequently very large numbers had to be taken in order to obtain enough to dye even a small amount of wool. The Phœnicians had the secret of making this purple in the most perfect manner, which they kept jealously. The other people paid for this quality dearly, or exchanged precious minerals, such as gold and silver for it, and also tin, which was exceedingly essential to these people, as I have already remarked, for the composition of bronze, which they brought to great perfection. In the history of England it is recorded that the Phœnicians visited



TERRA-COTTA STATUETTE OF VENUS ANADYOMENE.



Cornwall to procure tin, where it was supposed to be made best, to take to Tyre and Sidon.

The religion of the Phœnicians was like all ancient Semitic religions; the principal deities were Baal and Astarte, the national numen Baal Melkarth. The first was the Sidonian deity, and the second the Tyrian, Berito, etc. In general the Phœnicians adopted religious forms, and introduced many besides into their colonies; they originated or certainly practised to a great degree licentious rites in Cyprus more than in any other parts in which they lived. They erected temples principally in Paphos (here was the most ancient temple of Venus, which was renowned for its mysteries and impure forms and ceremonies of Aphrodisia) and Kittium, to the goddess called Aphrodite, Venus born from the foam of the sea. At Kittium, even now, they have on a summer day every year a festival on the sea shore, called "Cataclysm". The people ornament their boats on the sea most beautifully, dive in the water, sing songs, and do anything to make a noise, and this goes on all day and part of the night. On enquiry as to the object of the festival, no one can give an answer, with the exception that it is an ancient custom. This seems to be a survival of the ancient Phœnician festival, celebrating the arrival of Venus in Cyprus, who was represented at that time by being carried to shore by a dolphin, accompanied by two little children making a noise with musical instruments, while the goddess herself stands undressed, arranging and drying her hair; on reaching the land some large drapery was given her, and she rode upon a swan, probably to go to Paphos. I place upon the table two examples of this goddess in the manner described, which I found in a tomb at Salaminia in 1878. On the north east of the island, the side occupied by a Greek colony, between the ancient towns of Golgi (or Golgoi) and Carpatia, and about two miles from Cape Olympus, there is a ridge of mountains, on the summit of one of which was a temple called "Veneris-Pandemos" or "Aphrodite Pandemos", which was Urania. This goddess was represented in this temple by a female statue holding a globe in one hand, and in the other a wand; on the ceiling of the church was a dove, which tradition tells

us was the vehicle of Jupiter's oracle; it was also a sacred bird of Venus in all temples belonging to this goddess. Men were not permitted to enter this temple; all worship was performed by young maids, who burnt incense, and at certain festivals decorated this statue with flowers. This temple was dedicated to pure and celestial love; no licentious rite being allowed, which was quite a contrast to other temples of Aphrodite at Paphos.

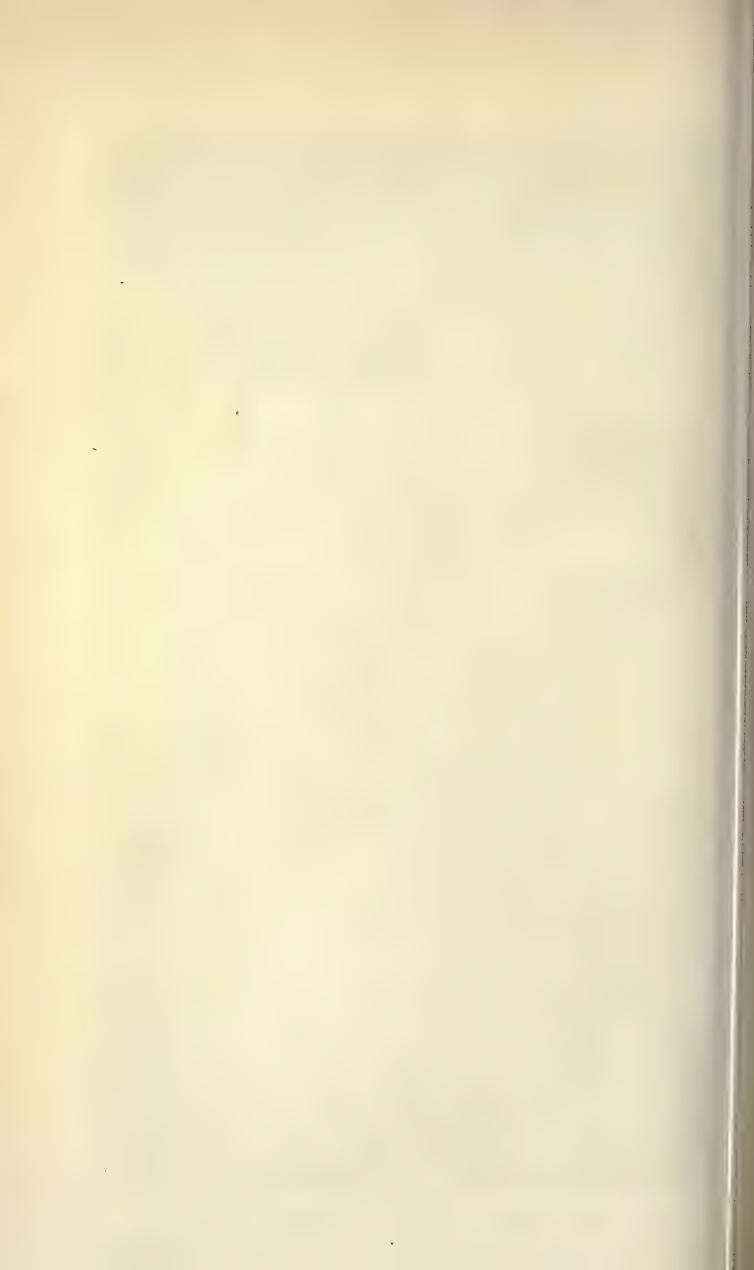
It is most curious that in the twelfth century the Romish church restored this temple, and formed a convent on the same spot. The new church was in many ways like the first. In the latter was found the female statue, also with the globe and wand, but it had now become the Blessed Virgin Mary with her globe and sceptre, and on the ceiling the same dove, which now represented the Holy Ghost, and again young maids dedicated themselves to worship. When the Turks conquered the island, this convent and many other churches were abandoned, and now these are all in ruins.

In spite of the fact that the Phœnicians were superior to other people at this time, through the reason that I have spoken of previously, never were they able to have a strong government and entire freedom; in every colony they were dependent upon other governments, and obliged to pay tribute. In the grandest days of Sidon and Tyre they were even then obliged to pay their great neighbours to maintain their laws, religion, and commerce. These industrious and valiant people were never able to form an empire, such as Egypt, Chaldea, Israel, and Assyria had done.

Civil wars, and the war with the Assyrian Empire, ended the days of these people; not being able to defend themselves, they were obliged to submit to the Carthaginians. The valiant soldiers also of Tyre were obliged to change their glorious name of Phœnician back to their ancient one, Peoni, or better known Punici, which they had when they came to the Mediterranean. These great empires seem subject to the general rule of all things, to be born vigorous, potent, and powerful; and afterwards to decrease, to drop entirely out of existence and disappear, making room for others to do likewise in their turn.

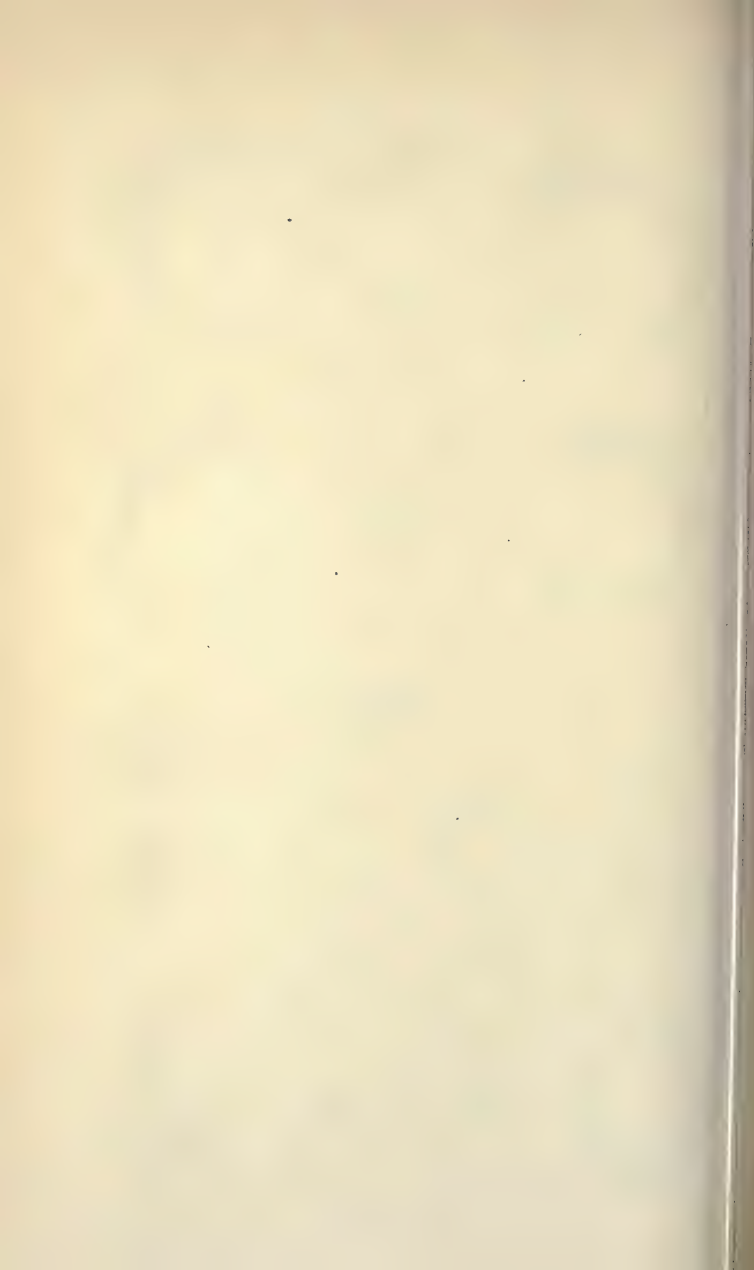


TERRA-COTTA STATUETTE OF VENUS RIDING ON A SWAN.



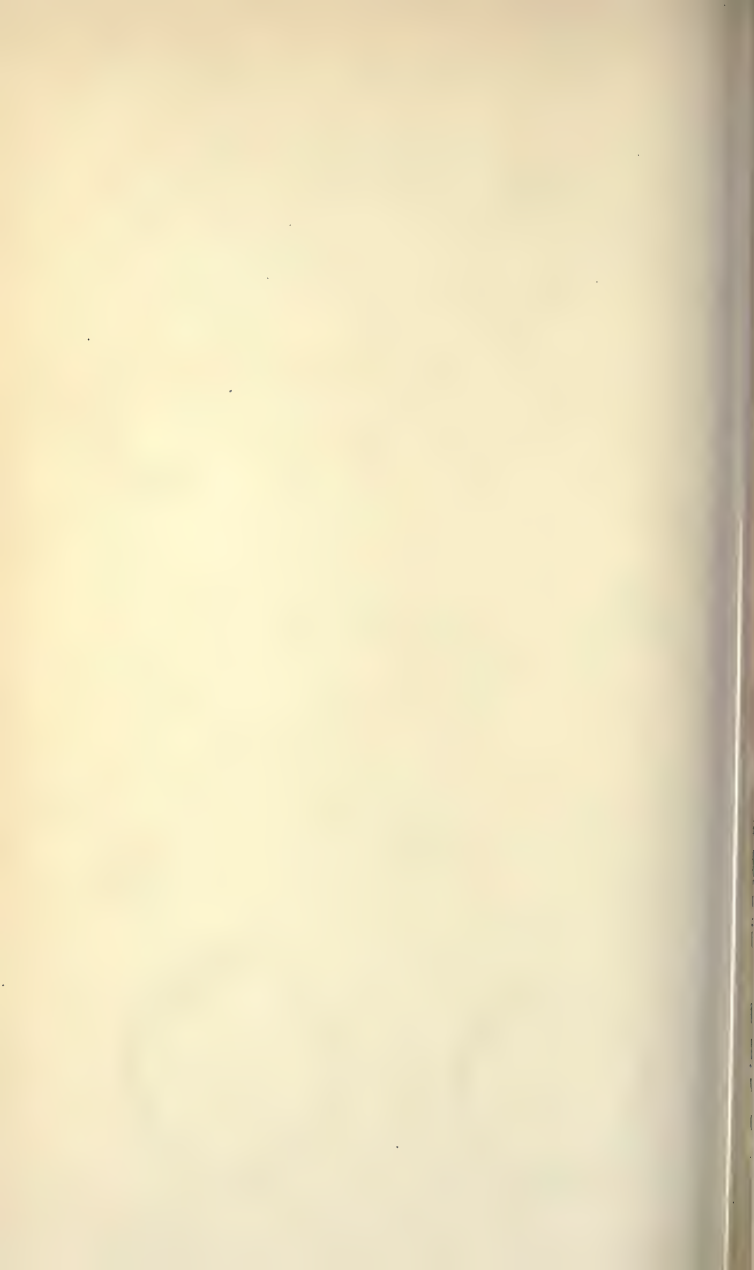


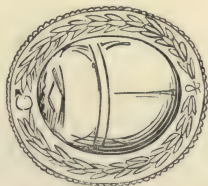
GOLDEN EARRINGS.



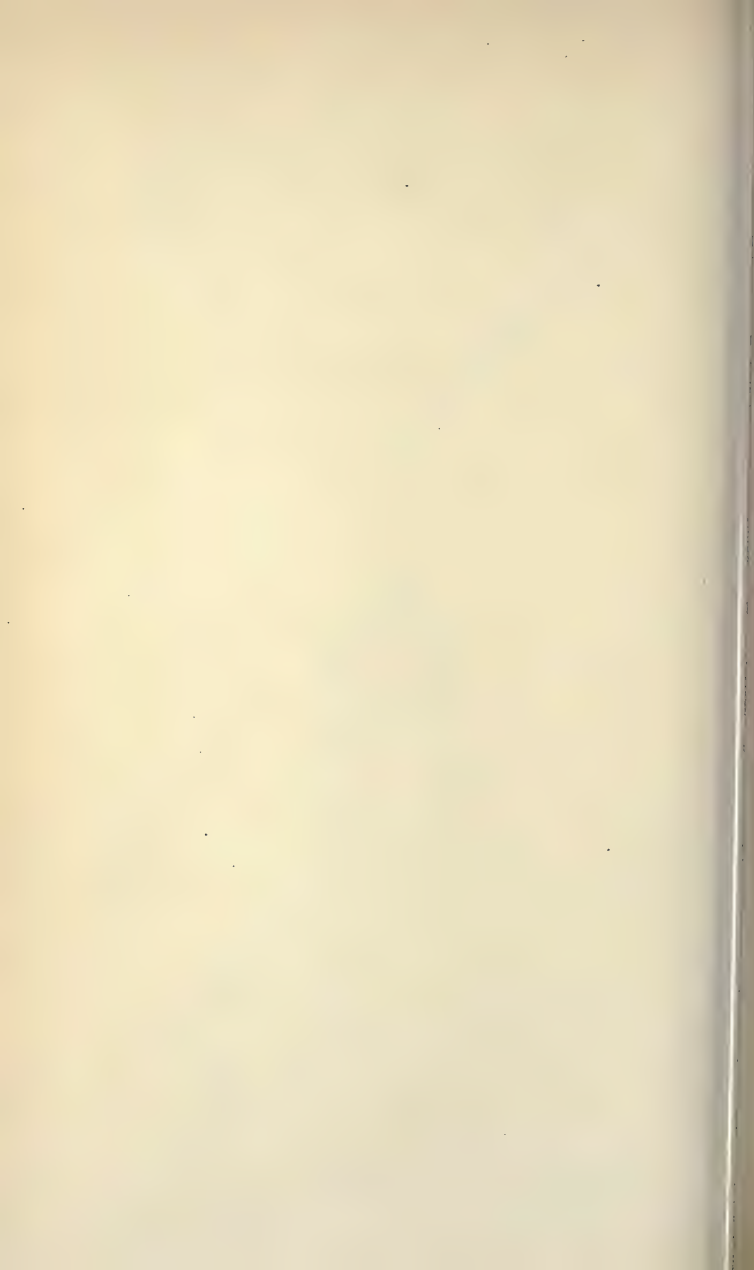


GOLDEN FINGER RINGS AND ARMLETS.



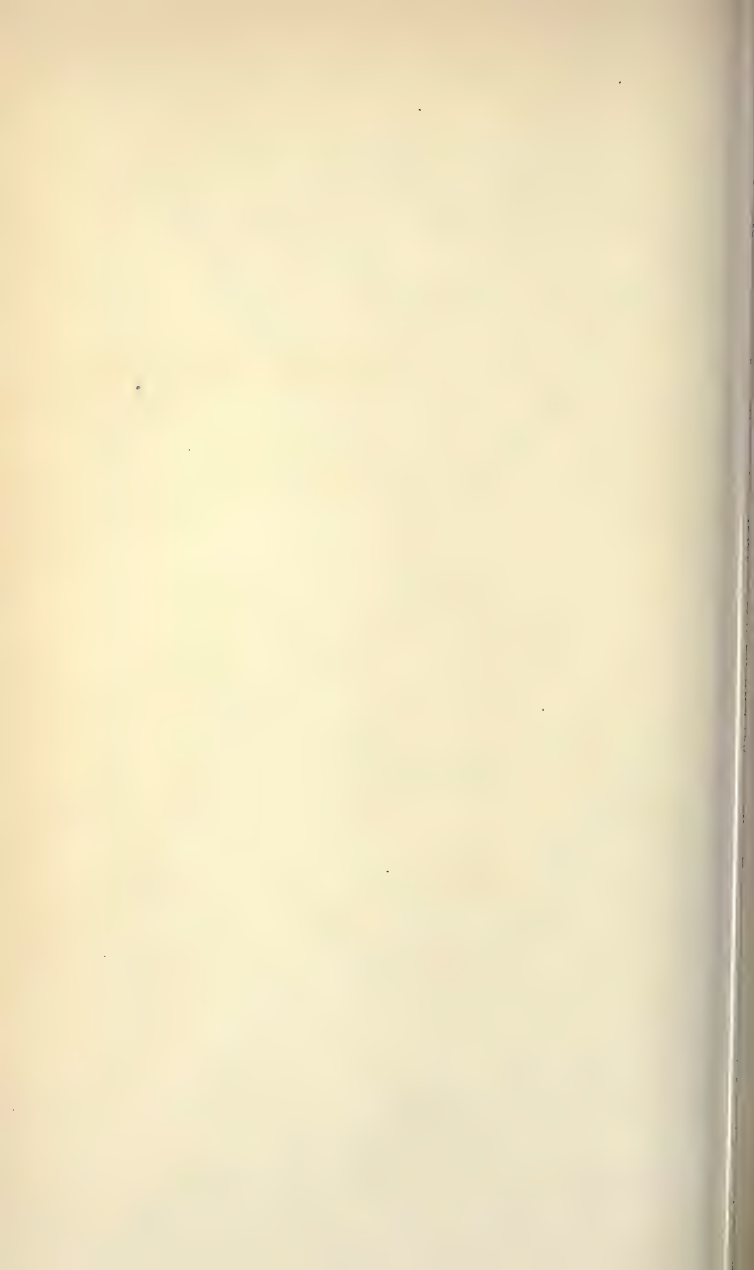


NECKLACE OF GOLD AND CRYSTAL, STATUETTE SHOWING USE OF THE SAME,
GOLDEN EARRINGS, AND CARVED SCARAB SET IN GOLD.





NECKLACES, GOLD AND PRECIOUS STONES.





GOLDEN NECKLET, PENDANTS, AND NECKLACE OF GOLD AND BEADS.

What remains to us of all these great empires in the East? Nothing but ruins, and very few monuments to remind us of those great days gone by. This shows the great power of the Supreme Being, and that every one is subject to His perfect rule.

With these preliminary remarks, I now ask you to inspect the Phœnico-Cypriote golden jewellery which I have the honour to lay on the table to-night, found, without a single exception, by myself in the course of my excavations in the ancient cemeteries and ruins of Cyprus. I divide these gold objects (numbering in all about fifteen hundred pieces) into three different classes, namely, 1, mortuary ornaments; 2, religious distinctions; and 3, feminine ornaments.

The first class is very easy to distinguish from the other two, as it is made of very thin gold laminæ. The metal itself is very fine and pure. A great number of these consist of frontals, mouth and eye-pieces, fillets of gold leaves, earrings, rings, etc. All these objects, one can see, were only for the decoration of the dead, as they are not sufficiently solid for living creatures to have used. In my diggings in the tombs I found, now and then, some skulls which had whole frontals on the forehead. One of these is exhibited on a card. Although this gold relic, in such wonderful preservation, was found in a stone sarcophagus, enclosed in a stone cave 10 feet under ground, yet there were no bones of the former wearer left: nothing but dust, with the exception of part of a skull. Absence of coins and all other things, except a few rough alabaster lachrymatories, prove to me that these gold objects are of the most ancient date. Other objects of a much later period, are principally the fillets, of which I have two kinds with leaves reversed, which distinguishes the influence of the Greeks and Romans. I always found these latter amongst the Greek and Roman objects belonging to these peoples or other nations subject to their influence.

The religious distinctions consist of armlets (of which my collection has a great many specimens in gold, silver, bronze, iron, glass, etc.), necklaces, idols, rings, etc. Many of the armlets have the form of a serpent, especially in bronze, some twisted once, and others twice and more; which, I suppose, signified the degree held by the priest

who wore the ornament. I base this idea upon many statuettes of priests which I have in my collection, and which have these decorations upon them.

The feminine ornaments differ very little from what are used now. I think this will be observed when one looks at the large quantity exhibited. The only difference I can see, and I ask your attention to it, is that, in those days, the goldsmiths chose to represent familiar and everyday objects round about them: for example, animals, domestic and ferocious, fishes, birds, fruits, etc.

I have to thank most heartily all those who have so kindly praised my book, which is certainly most gratifying to me after my hard work in the island. The opportunity of bringing these objects under the notice of the British Archæological Association on this occasion has been a great pleasure to me; and I take this opportunity of thanking also the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, who regretted, in a letter I have lately received from him, that he was unable to be present here this evening. He has in every circumstance personally shown great interest and kindness in all my work, as also many other distinguished and learned persons of this country have done; and I can say also the same of the Press.

There are many more antiquities to be found, principally large stone statuary, similar to those now in New York. I am sure, if I could return to my diggings, I should have great hope of success. I have related in the preface of my book *Salaminia*, how in my excavations I several times came across these large kinds of antiquities; but at that time I was, unfortunately, obliged to leave them. I trust, however, some day other people will be more fortunate than I have been, and obtain permission from the Government for this purpose; and for the benefit of science I desire this, for within the last three years those that have tried there have had very little success.

THE MYTH OF THE WEEK.

BY J. F. HODGETTS, ESQ.

(Read Jan. 3, 1883.)

IN addressing a meeting of skilled and practised archæologists, I feel that anything like an exordium going into the intricate windings of Scandinavian mythology would involve a minuteness of detail which would require months rather than minutes to read. I plunge, therefore, *in medias res*, presuming only that my audience will kindly bear in mind, that the class of mythological ideas truly English have nothing whatever to do with those thrust in upon us by the Latinists, who have stolen them from the contemporary but independent systems of Greece and Rome.

The Scandinavian progenitors of our race believed in a very perfect and highly poetical system of Polytheism, which, however, was a refinement of a monotheism to which reference is constantly made. The various Gods of Valhalla, said to be twelve, but really developing into an indefinite number, are all mere impersonations of the Divine attributes, which, according to the mythical value of *number* in ancient writings, have a sort of "spirit-life" within.

As the doctrine of number (the Zahl-Lehre of the German School) has so much to do with the subject before us, I may be pardoned for laying before you a brief abstract of this mysterious but highly interesting system.

The first number in all the Germanic family is one, *ein*, *en*, *an*, cognate, though not by any means borrowed from the classic *ens*, familiar to us all as denoting being. This *ens* is the Latin form of the Sanskrit *sat*, being, from *satya*, true; Greek *εἶς*; Eng. sooth. With the proofs of the identity of these words the philologist has more to do than the archæologist (though where to draw the line is very difficult), and I must refer the more curious to Max Müller's lectures on *Science of Language*, vol. i, p. 378, of the eighth edition, 1875.

The supreme god of the Scandinavians was called

Od-in or Od-en, where "Od" denotes the highest point, the peerless *culmen*, and hence the point of a spear. Our own *odd* is from the same source, meaning peerless, without a fellow, alone, the one *par excellence*. *En* or *in* is the article, or pronoun, or numeral (for it partakes of the character of all three) denoting one. Thus the name of the supreme God is the "Peerless Being". The Scandinavians introducing this word into Russia, it has become the name of the first numeral. In counting, the Russians say *odin*, *dva*, *tre*, etc.

Two is cognate with the second person singular, Sanskrit, *tvam*, and denotes a something other. Now this very word *other* being from the root *oth* (from), proves the force of the argument, showing that in the ordinal the same idea of separation or *from-ness* prevails. It is the result of the resolution of Divinity into two grand essentials, love or being, and wisdom or light. As heat and light make one sun, so do love and wisdom form one god.

Three is the mystic number of the equilateral triangle, heat, light, and the sustaining action or vital energy of the two acting together: hence in all systems there is a decided trinity as well as duality and unity. We have Jupiter, Mars, Apollo; Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva; Odin, Villi and Ve; or Odin, Tyr, and Thor.

Four being a square is only the same thing as its base or root intensified; and as the two attributes, love and wisdom, form a perfect god, so that union multiplied by itself means perfection greatly intensified. Adding the mystic three to the perfect four, we obtain *seven*, representing, in consequence, a state or condition of holiness or of consummation.

Five is the symbol of power, as representing the hand; Fimbul-tyr, or "five-strong god", being one of the names or qualities of Odin. Ten is the perfection of power; a hundred, infinite power: hence in India we meet with emblematical figures of deity either with four arms, as indicating perfection of power; or with a hundred, denoting power *ad infinitum*. The Brahmins never sought to give a portrait-picture in this hideous monster, of the god they worshipped. It was a mere memorandum, so to speak, of his attributes, written in the symbolic language of numbers.

As seven is produced by the addition of three and four, so twelve is the result of their multiplication, and gives an idea of *all* the requisites needful to form a church or system: hence the twelve gods in Olympus, the twelve Redschis of the Hindoo system, the twelve gods in Valhalla, the twelve tribes of Israel, the twelve Apostles, the twelve gates of the New Jerusalem, and thousands of similar instances of the power of this number.

Eleven represents a state of imperfection and grief.

Six, as the multiplication of two and three, has the sense of the mystic or divine three intensified by the power of the perfect two, so as to produce a similar idea to that of twelve, but less complete.

When the Scandinavian English took possession of the Island of Britain, they found it inhabited by the half-Romanised Kelts called Britons. These Kelts were still in a more than half savage condition. They were not very profound or very earnest Christians, for they never took any pains (as their own historian Gildas informs us) to lay the truths of Christianity before the English, who on their part greatly despised the conquered Kelt, who had been unable to hold his own. The English, too, had brought with them from Scandinavia a very perfect system of theology, which suited their requirements better than the more peaceful creed of the Christian. This system, at once simple and complicated, taught them to believe in a superintending Providence, to reverence their word of honour, to despise fraud and lies, to shun immorality as the plague, and to honour and revere woman as a being far above their ruder nature,—a being to be regarded almost with awe as partaking of the divine essence.

Their heaven was the abode of the brave, and was situate (as in all systems) on a mountain. Valhalla contained the twelve houses of the gods, who dwelt there in perpetual joy.

The sources of our knowledge of Scandinavian mythology are the two *Eddas*, the *Gràgàs*, and the *Hemiskringsla*. The first class contains a series of hymns similar in purport to those of the Indian *Vedas*. We shall confine ourselves, in treating of the myth of the week, to the relations found in what is known as the poetic *Edda*

of *Sæmund*, also called the *Elder Edda*. I use the edition of the original, published at Copenhagen by Grundtvig in 1874. I shall now give you a rapid sketch or analysis of the system of creation as expounded in the hymn called the *Völuspå*, or the *Vision of the Prophetess*, in which we shall see the potency of the mystic *seven*, bearing rather on the seven stages or eras in the creation, or evolution of the human mind, than on actual physical science. The *days* of a man are seven multiplied by ten, which I have pointed out to be only the same thing as seven in an intensified form or higher degree, and these stages are thus referred to :

I.—The first activity recorded is that of productive light. It is said, “the sun shone round from the south, and the earth brought forth tender green things.” Before, the earth, or condition of man’s mind prior to the influence of the sun from the south, is expressed thus :

“’Twas Time’s first dawn,
When naught yet was;
Naught save a void
And yawning gulf.”

II.—The next phase introduces us to the idea of order and government by the hand of a measurer or governor, the moon. Then the moon threw his right arm round the steeds of heaven, and *guided* them in their course.

III.—The third phase shows us intense activity,—the dwarfs are created, then the elves, then man. The dwarfs are a lower form of life, being confined to the earth ; the elves are higher, having power over earth and water ; but man is the crown of all.

IV.—The phase of wisdom is attained. Odin’s ash-tree, or the cosmos, is described ; and this on Odin’s day. Of all the most wonderful relations connected with mythological teaching, this extraordinary ash-tree is the most wonderful. To consider it as it should be considered would require a volume of no mean proportions, and it is utterly out of the question to attempt even a description of it in a parenthesis. The three fates are created : *Urda*, the Past ; *Verdandi*, the Present ; and *Skuld*, the Future. Then arises the fell giantess, “*The Love of Gold*.” To conquer this monster is Odin’s first work. This was the first war.

v.—Conflicts with other giants arise, and although in the prose *Edda*, Thor is represented as the general or leader on the side of the gods, he is not mentioned at this point in the *Völuspå*.

Baldur is represented as being born a son of Odin. He is the god of brightness and purity, often confounded with the sun, who, however, was a female deity. Baldur may, perhaps, be called the sun-god. Twin-born with this deity is the blind god Höder (all evil is born blind, remarks the Sagaman quaintly), to show that good and evil are correlative terms. Those who hold the cosmical theory say that Höder represents the corresponding night as Baldur is the god of day. But good and truth are represented by the outer symbols of heat and light, while evil and falsity find their natural exponents in darkness and night. One series of thought underlies the other as the soul is within the body. Baldur is wedded to a beautiful maiden of mortal mould, Nanna; who partaking, through her marriage, of the divine nature of her spouse, is yet able, from the circumstance of her birth, to communicate with men on earth tidings of good from on high,—a curious foreshadowing of the functions of the Church in later times.

Among the twelve gods there is one who is a traitor, the calumniator and denier of the gods, the Lucifer of Milton, the Judas of history. Now the Norn of the future (Skuld) had predicted that Baldur should be slain by a weapon of earth, unless every created object, without exception, should swear the great oath not to injure Baldur. To obtain this oath Nanna is sent to middle earth, where she succeeds in winning the promise from all things, animate or inanimate, never to injure Baldur, excepting from the mistletoe, which she overlooked or considered as part of the oak on which it grew as a parasite. Some say that Utgàrd Loki, the calumniator of the gods, who hated Baldur, disguised himself as a crow, and sat on the bough so as to hide the parasite. For this deed the crow, formerly white, was condemned to be thenceforth and for ever black.

The gods finding that all trees, stones, stocks, fire, water, and metals, had sworn not to injure Baldur, instituted a game in which they all threw their javelins

and shot their arrows at Baldur, who was placed with his back against a tree, which has ever since been called "the holy tree" (our holly), and remains ever green. The gods hurl their weapons, and Baldur is uninjured, until Loke represents that Höder, on account of his blindness, has never been permitted to shoot at his brother, and declares that he ought to have his turn with the rest. The gods yield to the seeming justice of this observation, and Höder is to try his hand. By a stratagem of Loke's, an arrow made of the mistletoe is placed in Höder's hand, and Loke stands behind him to direct his aim. The arrow flies direct to the mark. In vain the golden-combed cock, seeing the weapon flying through the air, flies up and receives it in his breast; the arrow flies on until it sinks in the heart of the white god Baldur.

Hela, sovereign of the lower worlds, to which all who were not killed in battle were sent (whose name is the origin of our modern Hell), now claims Baldur as her right. The gods oppose, when a compromise is suggested, and Hela consents to waive her claim on condition that all created objects shall weep for Baldur. Again is Nanna despatched to the middle earth, and again do her beauty and goodness succeed in winning tears from all created objects. Utgård Lokê, however, in the guise of an old woman sitting on a stone, hid, with the skirts of her garment, a little white flower which murmured "forget me not" as Nanna passed; but being unheeded, no tears were collected from it. This flower became blue from grief. Nanna collected the tears of all other objects on the mistletoe, where they remain to this day. Drops of blood fell from the heart of Baldur on to the holy (holly) tree, and there you will find them to prove what I say.

Hela now triumphed, when Odin interfered, and on account of the great love borne to Baldur by the gods, decreed that he should pass half his time below with Hela, and half in Valhalla. His return every morning is heralded by the cock, who became his special bird in consequence of the incident just related; and Eostra, the goddess of the eastern gates, opens the portals to receive the god. The other gods, to reward the cock, throw flowers and presents, which is the origin of our "cock-shy" (*shy* is *shau* or exhibition) at Easter-tide.

VI.—The sixth phase is devoted to Freeya, the goddess of wedded love, and Frigga, the Juno of the North, weeps over the approaching destruction of the race of gods and men.

VII.—The advent of Surtur from the abode of dull flame and lurid fire. He comes, and flames gleam from his sword. The monsters, the progeny of Loki, attack the gods and destroy them, being destroyed in their turn. Heaven and earth pass away to make room for a new heaven and a new earth that shall not pass away.

Having reduced the teaching of this ancient hymn to so brief a form, it will be easy to deduce from the abstract thus presented that the creation of the world is not meant by the myth at all. The actual teaching being, like Shakespeare's, directed to the progress of human life.

In the first state or phase, the sun as the mother of all things, shines from the south over the yawning gulf, the *shapeless void*. In consequence of this view, the sun is feminine in all Teutonic forms of speech, including of course, early English. The sun is the mother of Baldur, who is the God of Truth and Purity, Brilliancy and Joy. Man is therefore born into splendour, and all kinds of perfections are his glorious heritage. But his glory must be chastened by combats, and the sun-child passes out of the paradise of childhood into the unsettled cold and fickle state of youth represented by the warrior Moon.

The moon is masculine in the Teutonic dialects. He is a measurer, a controller, a governor. He rules the tides, and is the special deity of the water; also typifying Truth. Hence youth must *learn*, must acquire truth under the guidance of this deity. But youth partakes of the attributes of his patron; he is unstable, fickle, combative, melancholy. The glory of childhood, sustained by the beams of maternal love, passes away. Cold, hard facts have to be learnt. A discriminating power has to be acquired, and the lesson taught by the mystic number two has to be mastered. It is the second day with man. The moon presents the neophyte with a white unemblazoned shield (the moon's disc), and he may use arrows and javelins, both called in Saxon-English *street*. And this is the name of the beams that shoot from the

heavenly orbs all through the North! In German, a sun or moon beam is a *strahl*; in Swedish, *stral*. In Russian and in early English, *strael* is an arrow. The battle of life begins, it is a bitter black Monday for us. We turn our backs on the pure holy love of that being whom we ought to honour next to Him whom we are taught to call Father. We rush from the only saint in our calendar, our mother, to war under our new leader, who is so inconstant and fickle that we should be lost did we not pass under the tutelage of Tyr or Tiu (Tacitus calls him Tuisco). He will lead us from cold, hard facts to higher wisdom. This *third* day, in harmony with the teaching of the mystic *three*, brings us, for the first time, into the actual presence of deity. He will lead us on ever higher, fighting onward as the sturdy soldier must; we must climb the mysterious heaven to where Odin sits enthroned.

The period of younger manhood is represented by a young warrior armed with the shorter curved weapon of the Scandinavians called the seax by the Anglo-Saxons, and the young warrior carries the *gâr* or spear besides. Still it is not maturity, for maturity is represented by Odin, who sits on the high point—the *summit* of Valhalla. On our way we have to combat the giants called *Eoten* or Eaters, to represent sensual delights and gratifications. These must be overthrown before we can really attain the wisdom of which Odin is the patron.

Odin or Wodin is the Father of the Gods,—the all-wise, the all-seeing, the patron of manly vigour in maturity, wisdom, and strength. The fourth day is devoted to him, and four denotes perfection! At the time of maturity man is fit to take his place at the Council board, or to lead men on to combat. Warrior and sage, he is in both capacities under the special charge of the all-wise Odin. A brief time is allowed for rejoicing in the “great lights” which arise on the fourth day in the human mind, or illumination both of the external and internal which the pilgrim warrior at this stage receives. A pause for refreshment and enlightenment is granted, but man in his wisdom clings too much to externals, and the frightful giantess, the cursed “Love of Gold”, arises. She must be subdued, destroyed, and

for ever rooted out, or all is over. This is the first war, and brings on other wars with the giants of Frost. With the love of gold comes doubting of divine help, coldness to Him whom we should love with heart and soul. These are the frost giants, and they turn us from the high state we have attained. Divinity must actually descend and fight for us now, and Thor assumes the task of quelling the monsters.

Thursday, our Thundersday, old English Thunnersday, now corrupted into Thursday, comes, and man has a hard fight of it. The Scandinavian warrior, on attaining the Odin state, would assume the eagle's pinions in his helmet, the great war sword of the north was in his hand, and he was a son of Odin. The succeeding state is one of constant warfare until he shall have distinguished himself so far as to bear some record on his shield, golden bracelets on his arm, a gold ring on the pommel of his sword and in his belt. Under Thor he showed himself a worthy champion. Like Marmion, he was "in stern fight a champion grim, in camp a leader sage". Five is the expressive number of strength and might, and the fifth day resounds with the thunder of the God of Prowess. Defeated by the mallet of Thor (known to mortals as the lightning), the sensual principles fly overwhelmed and crushed. They are bound in chains until the last day, when they shall be again set loose. This respite gives man time to yield to softer emotions and to choose a mate.

Friday is the period when, after having arrived at full maturity, after having shown himself worthy of so sweet a reward, the love of woman crowns the warrior's career. The sixth day it is complete, in accordance with the mystic value of six, and the completeness of man is his married life. To the fact that the Teutons were not allowed to enter into the married state before full maturity, and that a Scandinavian or German maiden would scorn the addresses of a young untried soldier, Tacitus attributes the extreme height, strength, vigour, and activity of the northern nations. Their known morality of life and constant exercise were the surest safeguards against effeminacy and luxury.

Freya is the Venus of the North, but not the unscrupulous

pulous and revolting deity which we are accustomed to connect with the idea of the Goddess of Love. Freya presided over lawful wedlock, and was the patroness of nuptial faith and wedded fidelity. A short time only does her reign prevail, a kindly sorrow is mixed in the cup of joy, and Freya weeps! She sees the end of all things drawing near, and, more in sympathy with the doomed champion than in sorrow, Freya weeps.

I think this myth extremely beautiful, and in it we see the source of many of the ideas of the Minnesängers of a much later age, who made love the reward of valour.

But Saturday arrives. Surtur starts from the south. Heimdal seizes his horn to arouse the gods. The giants storm Valhalla; the monsters seek the gods; the gods slay the monsters, to be slain by them in the death struggle. Flames consume Valhalla, and the middle earth. The ash tree is shaken to its centre. "Dies iræ, dies illa, solvet sæculum in favilla!" Heaven and earth pass away, to be succeeded by a new heaven and a new earth—and they shall never pass away. The new Sunday will be more glorious than the first, and the new gods shall last for ever!

In presenting this wonderful account of the progress of mortal life, although time and the limits assigned to this paper will not permit of my going very fully into detail, I have said enough to show that we English, although not of the Roman stock, are very far from being descended from a race of illiterate barbarians. And further, I fancy, in the key thus afforded, we may trace a means of understanding mysteries of still higher import, which our ignorance has taken as referring to the creation of the external world of mud and stone, when in reality Divine Arcana are treated of. We are here together on the day of Odin, and I trust to hear some words of comment on my theory, worthy of the patron of the day and the cause of his sons.

ON

THE GREAT SEALS OF HENRY IV, HENRY V,
AND HENRY VI,AND MORE PARTICULARLY ON THE SECOND
GREAT SEAL OF HENRY IV.

BY ALFRED B. WYON, ESQ., CHIEF ENGRAVER OF HER MAJESTY'S SEALS.

Read March 7, 1883.

THE great seal used by King Henry IV during at least the first seven years of his reign, is identical with that of Richard II, with the simple alteration of "Ricardus" in the legend to "Henricus". It is also identical, except in the legend, with the seventh seal of Edward III, known as the "Brétigny seal", the legend of which was altered once in the reign of Edward III in order to introduce "Rex Francie" into the King's style; and again, on the accession of Richard II, by the substitution of "Ricardus" for "Edwardus". This seal, as used by Henry IV, may, therefore, be described as the Brétigny seal in its fourth state; and it is named by Professor Willis, in his well-known paper on the great seals of this period,¹ "G 4", he having named the Brétigny seal "G".

In the ninth year of the reign of Henry IV we find a second seal in use, and the first seal disappears during the remainder of this reign. This second seal, named by Willis "I", is not only larger than any of its predecessors, but it is by far the richest of the mediæval great seals, both as regards the number and variety of the subjects introduced, and also as regards their treatment. It may be held, more than any other seal, to justify the admiration expressed by Lenormant, in his *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*,² for the skill with which the English engravers of this period enclose within a small space a great variety of details. The seal is four inches and nine-tenths in diameter, the Brétigny seal being four and a half inches. Within this comparatively small compass we find, on the throne side of this seal, no less than

¹ *Archæological Journal*, vol. ii, p. 15.

² *Trésor*, etc. "Sceaux des rois et des reines d'Angleterre. Observations préliminaires."

twenty-one figures and animals, without counting those on the shields and banners. Yet these are so admirably arranged within an architectural or tabernacle framework, itself replete with exquisite details, that the general effect is not that of confusion, but of order, proportion, and harmony. As a group of highly ornamented niches enriched with sculptured figures, it may remind us of such half-architectural and half-sculptural works as the screens of Henry V's and Edward the Confessor's Chapels in Westminster Abbey, and the remarkable reredos of All Souls' College, Oxford; exhibiting in miniature the same kind of artistic feeling and power of which the works referred to are examples on a larger scale.

The seal has, as usual, two sides, on one of which the King is represented enthroned, and on the other on horseback. The equestrian side of the seal does not differ greatly in general design and treatment from the corresponding side of the Brétigny seal; and I do not now propose to make any remarks upon it, except such as will arise in connection with the armorial bearings. The object of the remarks I now offer is to draw attention to the throne side of this seal; to show where former interpreters of it have been wrong; and to offer some contribution towards its right interpretation, in the hope that others may be led to fill up the few blanks which I am obliged to leave open.

The seal has been described and interpreted by three writers, viz., Sandford in his *Genealogical History of England*, London, 1677; Lenormant in his *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*, Paris, 1834; and Wailly in his *Eléments de Palæographie*, Paris, 1838. In each of these works the seal is engraved; but in the two first named it is described as that of Henry V, in ignorance that it was first used by Henry IV. Sandford's description¹ is as follows:

"The 245th page of this 4th Book presents you with the royal seal of this King, Henry V, which is very historical; on the one side whereof he sits on his throne, with the scepter of the flower-de-luce in his right hand, and the mound and cross in his left. In three niches over his head are placed the Trinity and Our Lady. On each side of the throne, in several niches, the statues of King Edward the Confessor and King Arthur, whose arms are there represented: the banner

¹ P. 277, ed. 1707.

of France and England quarterly, and the banner of England alone. Without these stand the symbols of the four Evangelists, St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, viz., the angel, the winged lion, the flying ox, and the eagle; and at the foot of the throne (on three pannels) are the arms of his Principality of Wales, Dukedom of Cornwall, and Earldom of Chester. And *sans complement* to France, in the circumference of his seal he writes himself 'Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie, et dus [dominus] Hibernie.' He was the first king of England that in his seal did bear the three flowers of France [instead of *semée de lis*], and that placed England before France in his circumscription."

Lenormant,¹ also describing it as the seal of Henry V, says :

"It will be remarked that Henry V is the first King who made the title of King of England precede that of King of France. In the banner, the leopards of England are in the place of honour. [This is wrong, as will be shewn.] The King, clothed in a long mantle, the crown on his head, holding in the right hand a sceptre, and in the left a globe ornamented with a cross, sits on a throne surmounted by a Gothic arcade. The footstool of the throne has three faces, and bears three shields of the arms of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester. Above the head of the King, three niches, which form part of the ornaments of the throne, contain figures, of which that in the centre is the Virgin carrying the infant Christ in her arms; to the left, the King David; to the right, the angel Gabriel; to the left of the head of the King, St. Michael; to the right, St. George; to the left of the seat of the King, St. Edward; and to the right, St. Henry or St. Arthur. Yet more to the left is seen a knight armed at all points, supporting a banner charged with the arms of France and England. To the right the same personage is repeated; but the banner is filled with the arms of England only. At the two extreme sides of the seal, the symbols of the four Evangelists. Above these figures, two angels with wings displayed sustain each a shield; that to the left bearing the arms of St. Edward, and that to the right bearing the three crowns of England, France, and Ireland."

Wailly,² describing the seal correctly as that of Henry IV, says as follows :

"Henry IV. He is represented seated on a throne, the head crowned, holding a sceptre in the right hand, and in the left a globe surmounted by a cross. The footstool of the throne has three faces, upon each of which is seen a shield. The first bears a lion; the arms on the two other shields are too indistinct to be described. The throne is surmounted by a Gothic arcade enclosing three niches. In the middle niche is seen the Holy Virgin holding the infant Jesus; the two other niches are occupied by figures difficult to recognise; yet we may distinguish in the one a crowned king, and in the other a martyr holding a palm. To the right of the throne, and level with the head of the King, the archangel St. Michael; and as a companion, to the left of

¹ *Trés.*, pl. ix, p. 6.

² *El de Pal.*, vol. ii, p. 402.

the King, St. George; below, St. Michael and St. George, St. Edward, and St. Henry or St. Arthur. To the right of St. Edward, a knight sustaining a banner, quarterly, first and fourth of England, second and third of France. [This again is wrong, as will hereafter be shown.] On the other side, corresponding, a knight also sustaining a banner of the arms of England only. Above each of these knights an angel holding a shield; the one charged with the arms of St. Edward (a cross patonce between four martlets in the cantons of the cross, and one in base); the other charged with the three crowns of England, France, and Ireland. At the lateral extremities of the seal, the symbols of the four Evangelists, viz., to the right of the King, the eagle and the winged lion; to the left, the angel and the winged ox."

It will be seen that while there are considerable differences between these three descriptions, there are yet such points of agreement as furnish to some extent a guide in seeking for the true interpretation of the points wherein they differ.

To begin with the figures in the niches over the canopy. There can, of course, be no doubt that the central niche is occupied by the Blessed Virgin holding the infant Christ. Sandford says that "in three Niches over the Canopy are the Trinity and Our Lady". But we are at a loss to discover the emblems of the Trinity in the side niches. The figure in the dexter niche is that of a crowned king. This might conceivably represent the Father. But the figure in the sinister niche is one holding a palm, and therefore, presumably, a martyr. This cannot be reconciled with any known symbol of the third person of the Holy Trinity. We must therefore reject Sandford's interpretation so far as regards the two side niches. Equally untenable is the explanation of Lenormant, who describes the figure on the left, or as we should call it the dexter niche, as King David; and that on the opposite side, as the angel Gabriel. For if the former were King David, we should expect to see a harp, which he has not; and if the latter were the angel Gabriel, we should expect to see him winged, which he is not, and with a lily, which he has not. On the other hand, the palm held in the right hand clearly denotes a martyr, and therefore not an angel. Lenormant's explanation of the two side figures must therefore also be rejected. Wailly says that the two side figures "are difficult to recognise", but he correctly describes the one as "a crowned king", to which it should be added that

he holds a sceptre in the right hand, and something indistinguishable in the left; and he also rightly describes the other figure as "a martyr holding a palm"; to which it should be added that the left hand of the figure holds a small square or oblong object like a book. I regret that I am unable to explain these figures, but I think it possible that the martyr may be St. Katharine, in whose chapel the great anathema was pronounced against violators of the¹ Abbey of Westminster.

None of these writers suggest any reason for the placing of the Virgin Mary in the centre of the canopy. Looking at the fact that the king is here represented as on the day of his coronation, with the crown, the sceptre, and the mound, I cannot help thinking that she is introduced in allusion to the legend of the miraculous oil with which on that occasion the king had been anointed, and which is mentioned by the chroniclers as the most important incident of that ceremony. According to Walsingham,² Henry IV was crowned "not without a divine miracle", for he was anointed with that heavenly oil which formerly the Blessed Mary, Mother of God, had committed to the Blessed Thomas the Martyr (Becket), Archbishop of Canterbury, when he was in exile, predicting to him that whatsoever kings of England should be anointed with this oil, would prove champions of the church and merciful rulers. This oil, preserved in a golden eagle and stone ampulla, remained concealed through many years, but was revealed miraculously through a hermit, to Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, who gave it to Edward the Black Prince. By him it was deposited in the Tower, against his own coronation, but was overlooked or forgotten until the last year of Richard II, who when informed of the virtue of the sacred oil, and of the written prophecy concerning its use, desired the Archbishop of Canterbury to anoint him with it. The Archbishop, however, refused, on the ground that the regal unction of his coronation could not be repeated. Richard II afterwards gave the sacred oil into the hands of the Archbishop, with the melancholy presage that so noble a sacrament was reserved for some other king.

¹ Dart's *Westmonasterium*, vol. i, p. 41. ² *Hist. Angl.*, Riley, p. 239.

Maskell,¹ commenting on this says, "It is obvious that this legend was invented in order to supply an hereditary defect, and to give additional sacredness to the character of Henry IV, whose doubtful title required something of this kind." Whether it were invented by Henry IV, or, as I think more probable, it were merely adopted and utilized by this crafty and superstitious usurper, the placing of the figure of the Blessed Virgin, as we here see her, would naturally serve to recall this legend, and suggest that the king was the object of her special favour.

Let us now turn to the four niches occupying the two vertical divisions next to the throne on each side. Sandford does not describe the figures in the two upper niches; but Lenormant and Wailly agree in describing them as St. Michael and St. George respectively. Each of these two figures is armed with a spear and a shield, on which is a St. George's cross, and each tramples on a dragon. The figure in the dexter niche may be at once distinguished as St. Michael, by his being furnished with wings. It is possible that he is introduced in allusion to the fact that the deposition of Richard II and the accession of Henry IV took place in the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, as specially recorded by the monk of St. Alban's.² St. George, of course, appears as the patron saint of England.

Below each of these is a niche occupied with the full-length figure of a crowned king. All our authorities agree that the figure on the dexter side is that of Edward the Confessor, and that the small shield, upheld by an angel, in the upper part of the adjoining space on the outer side, bears the arms of this royal saint. Nor can there be any doubt on this point, these arms being identical with those of Edward the Confessor as occurring frequently in Westminster Abbey. The figure of the king holds in the right hand an object something like a sceptre, but widening considerably towards the top. If this object be, as suggested by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, a reliquary, that would be quite in harmony with the character of this sainted king.

¹ *Monumenta Ritualia*, etc., vol. iii, p. 17.

² *Chron. Mon. St. Alban*, Riley, pp. 252, 285.

But when we turn to the corresponding figure and shield on the sinister side, we find great diversity of opinions as to their meaning. Sandford says, as we have seen, that the figure and arms are those of King Arthur. This interpretation has at least the merit of connecting the figure with the shield, which the acknowledged connection of the corresponding figure with the corresponding shield on the dexter side would lead us to expect. I think we may safely assume that no interpretation can be satisfactory which gives up this connection; and for this reason the interpretations of Lenormant and Wailly must be rejected. These writers describe the figure as that of St. Henry or St. Arthur, and the shield as charged with three crowns representing the three kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland. To this latter interpretation there is the decisive objection that Ireland was not a kingdom until the reign of Henry VIII; the title of the king on this same seal being, not "Rex Hibernie", but "Dominus Hibernie". The supposition that the figure is St. Henry must also be dismissed, as I find no evidence of that saint being an object of veneration in England. What then is the evidence as to these arms being those of King Arthur, as stated by Sandford? Speed, whose history was first published in 1611, tells us¹ that at the funeral of Henry V, "the chariot was drawne with four horses whose caparisons were richly embroidered and embossed, the first with England's armes alone, the second with the armes of France and England in a field quartered, the third bare the armes of France alone, and the fourth *three crownes or*, in a field *azure*, the ancient arms of King Arthur."

I believe that Speed's authority for this is Monstrelet,² who was a contemporary of Henry V, and might have been an eye-witness of the procession, or have received a description of it from eye-witnesses. If so, he may have accurately noted the fact that one of the horses was trapped with the armorial bearings he describes, viz., a shield *azure* with three crowns *or*. But was he right in ascribing these arms to King Arthur? I think not, and for this reason, that

¹ *History of Great Britaine*, p. 808, ed. 1632.

² *La Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet*. Donet d'Arcq. Paris, 1857. Vol. iv, p. 115.

the official memorandum printed in Rymer, of the expenses of the armorial bearings and banners provided for this funeral, specifically mentions, besides the royal arms, those of St. Edward and St. Edmund, and of St. George, but not of King Arthur.¹ And although I find that the arms, *azure*, three crowns, *or*, are given in books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as one out of four different varieties of King Arthur's arms,² the same coat is, as I shall show, that of St. Edmund, and the evidence of Rymer is, I think, conclusive that these arms were on this occasion carried as those of St. Edmund, and not of King Arthur. And I think it probable that Speed and Sandford have been misled by Monstrelet, who as a Frenchman was liable to be mistaken on this point. I am indebted to Mr. Bayfield, of Norwich, for having pointed out to me that the arms on the shield in question are those ascribed in the fifteenth century to St. Edmund king and martyr, and borne by the Abbey of St. Edmund's Bury, where was his shrine; and I now propose to establish this on conclusive evidence. The only difficulty is one which meets us at the outset, but is very soon disposed of, and that is, that the arms of the Abbey of St. Edmund's Bury, as often met with, and as described in modern books, are three crowns with the addition of an arrow or arrows transfixing the crowns. The addition of the arrows in later times was probably for the purpose of distinguishing the arms of the abbey, in sculpture, from those of the neighbouring Cathedral of Ely. But that the three crowns only were recognised as the arms of St. Edmund, is shewn by the seal of the Abbot John of Bury, in the time of Henry VIII,³ a cast

¹ "Particulæ Provisæ in Garderoba pro Interamento Regis Henrici :

"Item, eidem Thomæ pro vapulatione ii Trappours, videlicet, de armis Sancti Edwardi et alterius de armis Sancti Edmundi, Prec. Pec. xls.,—ivl.

"Item, eidem Thomæ pro vapulatione xvi Vexillorum de armis Sancti Edmundi et Sancti Edwardi, Prec. Pec. viiis.,—vil. viiis." (Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. x, pp. 256-7.)

² See Robinson's translation of Leyland's *Life of King Arthur*, pub. 1582; Heylin's *Help to English History*, 1641, p. 2. Compare also *Chronicle of the Kings of Great Britain*, from the Welsh of Tysilio, by P. Roberts, 1811, p. 141.

³ British Museum MSS., xxi, 7.

of which I exhibit; by a smaller seal of one of the officials of the abbey in the reign of Henry VI,¹ a cast of which I also exhibit; and by the seal of Richard, Abbot of Bury in the reign of Edward IV, a sketch of which, by Mr. Bayfield, I also exhibit.

Still more conclusive is the evidence of Lidgate's illuminated MS. life of St. Edmund, in the British Museum.² This beautiful MS. was written by a monk of Bury, expressly for Henry VI, and in the prefatory poems we find two banners of St. Edmund beautifully illuminated and described. The first is an allegorical device of Adam and Eve, the serpent and the tree with the forbidden fruit, and is quite unheraldic in character. The second banner is *azure*, three crowns *or*, without arrows, and is thus described in the poem itself:—

“This other Standard feeld stable off colour Ynde (*i.e.*, blue)
In which of gold been notable crownys thre
He first tokne in Cronycle men may fynde
Granted to hym for royal dignyte
And the second for Virgynte
For Martirdom the thrydde in his suffring
To these annexyd Faith, Hope, & Charyte
In tokne he was Martyr, Mayde, and Kyng
These thre Crownys Kyng Edmund bar certeyn
When he was sent be grace of Goddis hond
At Geynesburuh for to slen King Sweyn.”

These arms are also carved on the bosses of the cloister of Canterbury Cathedral, as the arms of St. Edmund. These bosses were carved in the time of Henry IV.³ The identity of these arms with those on the shield in this seal is, therefore, clear; and I think it is equally clear that they are introduced as those of St. Edmund, and not of King Arthur.

Following up the clue thus given by the arms, I have been led naturally to the supposition that the figure is also that of St. Edmund. I propose to shew that there is very strong evidence in favour of this supposition.

In order fully to appreciate the weight of this evidence, it is necessary to bear in mind the circumstances of Henry IV's accession to the throne; and the fact that he was always regarded as an usurper by a strong party,

¹ Harl. Charter, 44, D. 29.

² Harl. MS. 2278.

³ Williment, *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 71, 73.

against whose conspiracies he had to contend even to the end of his reign. These conspiracies, in which many of the great nobles and ecclesiastics took part, were in fact the first mutterings of that storm which, although restrained by the arts and policy of Henry IV, and by the commanding greatness of Henry V, broke out in deadly fury in the Wars of the Roses under Henry VI. We have also to take into account the character of Henry IV, which is described as crafty and superstitious; his consciousness of the defect of his claim to the throne, his unwillingness to rest his claim on the ground of conquest or of election by Parliament, feeling that what Parliament had given, it might also take away; and his overstrained efforts to establish his claim to the throne on the ground of hereditary right.

The anxiety natural to an usurper to invoke all the sanctions which might give sacredness to his claim in the eyes of his people, is to my mind the key to the interpretation of this seal. I believe that the king here indirectly appeals at once to the popular affection for the memory of the Anglo-Saxon kings, to the reverence for the Blessed Virgin and the Saints which would enlist the sympathy of the great ecclesiastical party, and to that attachment to hereditary right so characteristic of the English people, on which, justly or unjustly, he chose chiefly to defend his claim to the throne. A few quotations from the historians and chroniclers of this reign will shew in what manner Henry IV maintained and defended this claim.

Rymer tells us,¹ "notwithstanding Richard II was deposed, the crown did not rightfully devolve to the Duke of Lancaster (Henry IV), because he (Richard II) had a nearer heir, viz., Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, whose father had been declared presumptive successor to Richard by an Act of Parliament. This Edmund was descended from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, second son to Edward III, whereas Henry was descended from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Lionel's younger brother. 'Tis true that Edmund was only descended from Lionel by the mother's side, viz., Philippa, who was Lionel's daughter, and he was also by one degree more remote

¹ *Acta Regia*, No. vii, p. 42.

than Henry; yet, notwithstanding this, his right was indisputable." Holinshed tells us¹ that "to the end he (Henry IV) should not seem to take upon him the crowne and scepter roialle by plain extorted power and injurious intrusion, he was advised to make his title as heir to Edmund (surnamed or untruly feined Crokebacke), sonne to King Henry III, and to saie that the said Edmund was elder brother to King Edward I, and for his deformitie put by from the crown."² Fabyan says positively that "Edward, surnamed Longeshanke," was "*reputed* of many writers for the first and eldest sone of King Henry, but he was the second, and Edmund, that is of writers surnamed Crowkebacke, was the first and eldest, albe it he was put by by ye meane of his fadre for his deformyte."³ Fabian was an alderman of London, "well skilled in Latin", whose chronicle was first published in 1516. The fact that he, living within a century of Henry IV, relates this account of Henry's descent without expressing any doubt as to its truth, is a proof of the success which attended King Henry's efforts to obtain credence for this false claim.

This claim had been openly and formally put forward by the Duke of Lancaster, father of Henry IV, in the parliament of 1394, in which the Duke sought that his son Henry should be declared heir to the kingdom of England. I quote now from the Chronicle of the monk of Malmesbury:—

"The Duke said that Henry III had two sons, *Edmund, the elder and firstborn*, and Edward. Which Edmund, nevertheless, had a broken back, and on account of this judged himself unworthy of the crown. Wherefore their father made them agree that Edward should reign, and after him the heirs of Edmund." To whom the Earl of March answered saying that this was not true, but that Edward was the eldest, and Edmund was '*vir elegantissimus et nobilis miles*', as was clearly contained in the chronicles. But the King (Richard II) imposed silence on them."⁴

And the formal claim publicly made by Henry on the deposition of Richard II to the Commissioners of parliament was in these words:

"In the name of God, I, Henry of Lancastre, challenge

¹ Holinshed's *Chronicle*, vol. iii, p. 511.

² *Ibid.*, p. 276.

³ Fabyan's *Chronicle*, pp. 330-1.

⁴ *Eulogium. Chronicon, etc., a Monacho Malmesburiensi.* Haydon, vol. iii, pp. 369, 370. (Rolls Series.)

this reiaume, this the corone, with all the membris and appurtenaunce ther to, as be the ryght blood coming of the Kyng Henry (the third)."

We see then that Henry IV had a strong motive for keeping the name and memory of Henry III before his people. I propose to mention a few facts which would, in the minds of the English people, naturally connect the names of Edward the Confessor and Edmund king and martyr, with Henry III.

In the time of Henry IV, the newly built Abbey of Westminster must have recalled vividly not only the name of its original founder and its virtual patron saint, Edward the Confessor, but also that of King Henry III, by whom it had lately been rebuilt from its foundations. The double object of Henry III, in the rearing of this stately and beautiful edifice, was to make a worthy resting-place for the shrine of St. Edward, and also a burial-place for himself and his race, of which the shrine was to be the centre.

The enormous expense of this great work occasioned his having recourse to all kinds of exactions, which, as Dean Stanley tells us, "have left their lasting traces on the English constitution in no less a monument than the House of Commons, which rose into existence as a protest against the King's lavish expenditure on the mighty Abbey which it confronts."¹ Among other devices to which Henry III resorted in order to raise money for this object was the appointment of fairs held at Westminster, at St. Edward's-tide, in several distinct years. These fairs were held for fifteen days, during which time all trade in the City of London was forbidden, and a tax was paid to the Abbot of Westminster on every article sold.² On one occasion we read that the citizens of London, fearing the ill consequences to themselves, were glad to pay £2,000 to the King to prevent the holding of the fair. On another occasion, in 1252, we read that the fair was kept fifteen days, but it was "verie grievous unto them by reason of the foule weather." By fair means or foul, however, the work was accomplished, and on 13th October 1269 the body of St. Edward was "translated"

¹ Stanley's *Westminster Abbey*, p. 119.

² Ridgway, *Gem of Thorney Island*, pp. 53, 54. London, 1860.

to its new shrine with extraordinary solemnity and pomp, and the anniversary of this day became the principal festival of the Abbey for three centuries after. "The splendours of this festival were frequently heightened by the presence of the Sovereign and his court."¹

It is expressly stated by several historians² that he named his eldest son Edward after St. Edward the Confessor. And when he was in the North, and prevented by the critical state of his affairs in Scotland from being present at the feast of the Confessor, he issued letters patent from Werk, in Northumberland, to his Treasurer, and to Edward of Westminster, his son, commanding, and giving detailed instructions for, the due observance of this feast at the King's cost.³ Many other proofs of the devotion of Henry III for St. Edward might be added.

Having shown the connection of Henry III with Edward the Confessor, I propose now to show the connection, in the minds of the English people, of St. Edmund, king and martyr, with Edward the Confessor and with Henry III. The connection of these two saints dates from the days of Edward the Confessor himself, of whom it is recorded, that so great was his veneration for the royal saint and martyr, Edmund, that he frequently visited his shrine at St. Edmund's Bury, and "was accustomed to perform the last mile of his journey thither on foot as a common pilgrim."⁴

The great Abbey of St. Edmund's Bury was one of the richest and most venerable in the kingdom. We have seen that under Henry III, Edward the Confessor had become, as Stanley says, virtually the patron saint of Westminster, almost to the exclusion of St. Peter. The charter of confederation, therefore, between the Abbots of Westminster and Bury St. Edmund's, in the time of Henry III, now in the Chapter House of Westminster, is an additional link of connection between the two saints. The devotion of Henry III to St. Edmund, king and martyr, was only second to that which he paid to St. Edward; and his second son, Edmund, was named after the royal saint of that name, as his eldest had been after

¹ Neale's *Westminster Abbey*, vol. ii, p. 67.

² Stanley, Sandford, Ridgway, Dart.

⁴ Yates, *History of St. Edmund's Bury*.

³ Ridgway, p. 62.

St. Edward.¹ In the Abbey of Westminster itself, as rebuilt by Henry III, one of the chapels of the apse is dedicated to St. Edmund the king; and Stanley tells us² that "this chapel seems to have been regarded as of the next degree of sanctity to the royal chapel of St. Edward."

I find further interesting evidence of the association of St. Edmund, king and martyr, with St. Edward in the list of jewels on the shrine of Edward the Confessor at Westminster, which were borrowed and pawned by King Henry III when he was pinched for money, but were afterwards honourably restored. The list is given in Botfield's *Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, p. lxxx, and in it are included golden images of the Virgin and of two kings, of whom, however, the only one named is "St. Edmund the king, wearing a crown with two large sapphires, a balass ruby, and other precious stones"; and the value is stated to be £86, which would be equivalent to twenty times that amount at the present time.

The life-long devotion of Henry III to the two royal saints was crowned by the circumstances of his death and burial, in so curious a manner as would permanently associate his memory with the names of Saints Edward and Edmund. "Returning", says Holinshed³ [from Norwich], "by St. Edmundsburie, after he had done his devotions to St. Edmund's shrine", the King "began to wax somewhat crasie" with the illness of which he shortly after died. He hasted with all speed to Westminster, where he died on the day of St. Edmund the Archbishop; and he was buried on the festival of St. Edmund the King,⁴ by the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor, 20th Nov. 1272.

The lesson of devotion which we have seen was inculcated by Henry III on his son Edward, and on his people, towards the two royal saints, Edward and Edmund, was not forgotten by them. Of this I find an interesting proof in a poem, in French, of the time of Edward I, in a MS. in the British Museum,⁵ written in celebration of the capture of Caerlaverock Castle, on the Solway Firth, by

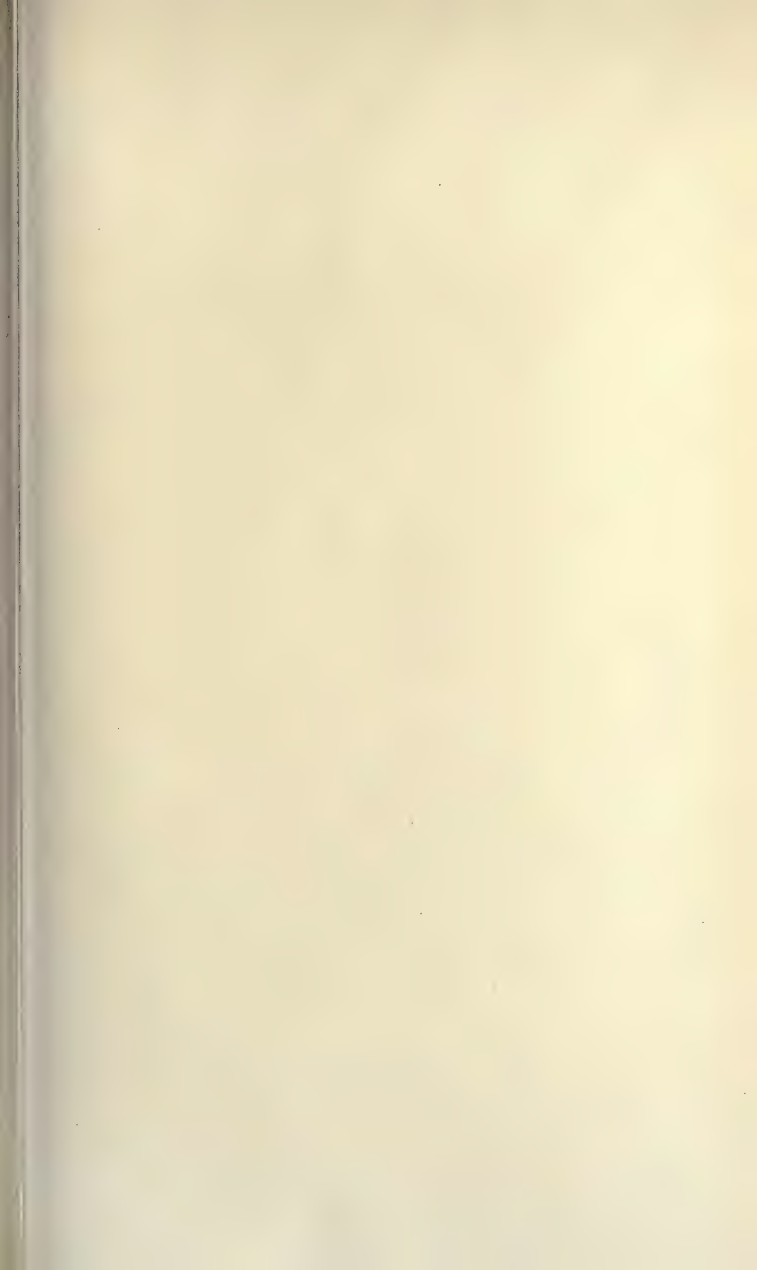
¹ Stanley, p. 116.

² *Ib.*, p. 126.

³ Vol. iii, p. 276.

⁴ *Annales de Berdmundeseia*, in Luard's *Annales Monastici*, vol. iii, p. 464; *Waverley Annals*, vol. ii, p. 378.

⁵ Cotton, Calig. A. xviii, printed in *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iv, p. 498.



SECOND GREAT SEAL



NY THE FOURTH.



WILLIS.



Edward I in 1300. In this poem I find the following passage describing the surrender: "Then the King caused to be carried to the mount his banner, that of St. Eymont, St. George, and St. Edward; and with these, as by right,.....those of Segrave and Hereford, and that of the Lord Clifford, to whom the Castle was given." The original runs thus:

"Puis fist le Roy porter a mont
 Sa baniere et la Seint Eymont (Edmund)
 La Seint George la Seint Edwart
 E o celes par droit eswart
 La Segrave et la Herefort
 Et cel au Seignour de Cliffort
 A ki li chasteaus fu donnez."

It will be noted that the four banners of the King, St. Edmund, St. George, and St. Edward, are the very same as the four principal banners and escutcheons which on the interpretation now put forward we have on this seal of Henry IV.

Richard II was, as is well known, scarcely less devoted to Edward the Confessor than Henry III had been. He added to his arms those of Edward the Confessor, and it is recorded¹ that in 1390 Richard II and his queen sat crowned and holding their sceptres, during the celebration of Mass in Westminster Abbey, on the festival of the Translation of St. Edward. Henry IV himself selected the same festival, 13th October 1399, this day being also the anniversary of his exile in the previous year, as the day of his own coronation; on which occasion the crown of St. Edward himself was blessed and placed on the King's head by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The devotion of Henry IV to St. Edward was continued until his death, as we learn from a curious coincidence. We have seen that Henry III was seized with his last illness when doing his devotion at the shrine of St. Edmund. Fabyan tells us that Henry IV was seized with illness "whyle he was makynge his prayers at Seynt Edward's shryne"² at Westminster, whence he was carried into the Jerusalem Chamber where he shortly afterwards died. But the veneration of the English kings and people for the two saints, Edward and Edmund, did not cease with Henry IV. I have already

¹ Neale, ii, p. 67.

² Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 376.

referred to the great public funeral of Henry V, and here again we find, as I have shown from Rymer, that the armorial bearings and banners immediately associated with the royal arms and banners, and carried on this occasion to the high altar of St. Edward at Westminster, were those of St. Edward and St. Edmund, together with those of St. George—precisely the same combination of banners and arms as we have seen at Caerlaverock Castle in the reign of Edward I, and, as I contend, on this seal of Henry IV.

We have now traced the royal and popular veneration for Saints Edward and Edmund down to the time of Henry VI, and have shewn that this popular veneration was so largely due to Henry III, that the names of these two royal saints would naturally be associated with his. We have also seen their arms associated with the royal arms of England, before and after the reign of Henry IV. I submit, therefore, that the weight of all these facts is overwhelming in favour of our describing the companion figure and shield in this seal to those of Edward the Confessor, as those of St. Edmund, king and martyr, and not as those of St. Henry or St. Arthur.

It only remains to examine the figure itself. A general resemblance may be at once noticed to the undoubted figure of St. Edmund in the seal of the Abbot of Bury, to which I have already referred. The figure in both is crowned, and carries a sceptre in the left hand. In the Bury seal, the right hand holds an arrow of exaggerated proportions with the head downwards. Unfortunately, all the extant impressions of the Great Seal of Henry IV are so imperfect in this point, that it is impossible to say with certainty what the right hand holds. I have, however, a very strong belief that an arrow is held in the hand, a belief which is strengthened by examination of those impressions which are sharper than others in this point. It is greatly to be desired that more perfect impressions of this seal may yet be brought to light.

Let us now turn to the banners, held by men-at-arms in the lower part of the next division of the seal, on each side. All the writers we have quoted say truly that the banner on the dexter side is that of France and England quarterly; but here Lenormant and Wailly both

fall into an error in saying that in this case the places of honour, viz., the first and fourth quarters, are occupied by the arms of England. It will be observed that both banners fly from the throne outwards, the staff in each case being on the side nearest the throne. As a necessary result, the reverse side of the banner on the dexter side is shown, and that this is the intention of the engraver, who in this shows fidelity to nature, is proved by the fact that the lions are passant towards the sinister, instead of towards the dexter, as when the right side of the banner is shewn. The lions being shewn in reverse, of course the whole device is in reverse, and what are apparently the first and fourth quarters become the true second and third. Wailly falls into a similar error in describing the caparison of the horse on the other side. He says, in describing that side of the seal, "the King carries on the left arm a shield charged quarterly with the arms of France and England. Here the arms of France occupy the places of honour, that is to say, the first and fourth quarters." So far he is right, but he adds, "the same arms appear but confusedly, on the caparison of the horse, where the fleurs-de-lis occupy the second and third quarters." A careful observation, however, will show that there is no confusion on the part of the engraver of the seal. For here, also, the lions of England are reversed, and therefore the quartering is also reversed. If the other side of the horse were shown, which would be the case if he were proceeding from right to left, then, no doubt, the arms would appear as on a shield, or on the front of a banner. But the caparison of the horse is treated somewhat after the manner of a banner, in which one side always appears reversed; and as the place of honour on the banner is always nearest the staff, so in the horse's caparison it is nearest the head of the horse. That this treatment is deliberate, and not the result of confusion, will at once appear on examination of the whole series of Great Seals of England in which armorial bearings are shown on the horse's caparison. The first of these is the seal of Edward I, in which the lions of England only are shown; and in this seal, while they are passant to the dexter on the shield of the king, they are reversed both on the neck

and hind quarters of the horse. On the seals of Edward III, the armorial bearings always appear reversed on the neck of the horse, but in two instances on the hind quarter of the horse, they appear in the usual way; but wherever the lions are reversed, the quartering is reversed, and *vice versâ*, wherever the lions are passant towards the dexter, they occupy the second and third quarters. This rule prevails down to, and including, the seal of Henry VII, which is the last case in point, with only two exceptions, viz., the third and fourth seals of Edward IV; exceptions, however, which may be taken as proving the general rule which we have stated, viz., that whenever we find the lions reversed, the quartering must also be taken as seen in reverse.

One more remark may be made on the armorial bearings as shown on the royal banner and shield, and on the horse's caparison, namely, that in this great seal the arms of France are three fleur-de-lis, instead of semé-de-lis, as in the first seal of this reign. Sandford notes this fact; but he is wrong in saying that Henry V was the first king of England who bore the three fleurs-de-lis. He should have said it was Henry IV.

All the writers we have quoted agree that the three small shields in the panels below the throne represent the Principality of Wales, the Dukedom of Cornwall, and the Earldom of Chester respectively. These three baronies had first been united in the person of Edward the Black Prince, but subject to conditions which limited them to the eldest son of the King of England. On the death of Edward the Black Prince, therefore, they did not devolve upon Richard II, but merged in the crown. And although Richard II had, by a fresh creation, been made Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, by Edward III, it was with the same limitations. On his deposition, therefore, these baronies again merged in the crown; and I think we may trace in the introduction of these shields into this seal another instance of the over anxiety, natural to an usurper, to assert his claims not only to the crown, but also to all the "membris and appurtenances" thereto, as stated in his public claim already quoted.

The unanimous consent of the writers we have quoted,

as to the significance of these shields, leaves perhaps no doubt as to their intention. Yet the armorial bearings are not precisely, as regards two of them, what we should have expected. The arms of the centre shield are three ostrich feathers, which were the arms of Edward the Black Prince, Prince of Wales, as represented on his tomb at Canterbury. But I am not aware of any other instance in which these arms are given as those of the Principality of Wales. The arms of the Prince of Wales, as given in the *Camden Roll*, the date of which is about 1280, are, "l'escu esquartelé d'or et de gules, à quatre lepars del un en l'autre." Similar arms are given for the Principality in modern books.

The arms of the Duchy of Cornwall, as we should expect to find them here, would be a lion rampant crowned, within a bordure bezantée, as on the shield of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III, in Westminster Abbey; in the seal of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, *temp.* Edward I; and as given also in the *Camden Roll*. The bordure in the dexter shield in the seal is, however, engrailed, and not bezantée. The arms on the sinister shield are three garbs, which indisputably are the armorial bearings of the earldom of Chester.

Having now drawn attention to all the obscure points in the seal, let us briefly sum up what appears to be its general scheme and idea. The King is seated in state, enthroned and crowned, and holding the emblems of royalty, as the fountain of justice and authority in the realm. He is attended on his right and left by the Archangel Michael and St. George, the former representing angelic might triumphant over the powers of darkness; the latter representing the military prowess of England triumphant over oppression and wrong; and in a lower rank than these, but still as mighty protectors of his throne, the two most revered of his royal predecessors, who had been immortalised by admission to the hierarchy of saints, and whose names served to remind the beholder of his claim of descent from Henry III. Beyond these figures of angelic, heroic, royal, and saintly personages are displayed the armorial bearings of his realm, upheld by figures representing the stalwart strength of his knights and men-at-arms. Above these banners, and as it were in

the celestial regions, angelic hands sustain the armorial bearings of the two royal saints below, as if to symbolise the heavenly glory which is held out as the reward of a just and saintly rule in the earthly kingdom. Beyond these, in the outer compartments, are the symbols of the four Evangelists, representing the divine laws of justice and mercy, in accordance with which the kingdom is to be ruled. Above the King, who, as we have seen, wears the crown of St. Edward, and holds the emblems of royalty, as on the day of his coronation, appears the Blessed Virgin, from whose special favour, as he pretended or believed, he received the miraculous oil with which he was then anointed; on her right and left being two other saints whom we have been unable to name. And below his feet are the shields of the three most exalted baronies of the kingdom, which are declared to be irrevocably annexed to the throne, or to the eldest son of the reigning king of England.

If this be the true interpretation of the seal, then it becomes the most interesting of all the mediæval great seals, not only on account of the skill with which these various ideas are arranged and harmonised, but because it bears most strongly impressed upon it, as I have shown, the personal traits of the reigning sovereign; and because of its requiring, for its complete explanation, a compendium of the history of the time.

And here we may inquire why Henry IV had this second great seal prepared at all? I am unable to fix the precise date of its first use; but the latest impression which I have found of his first seal is dated in the seventh year of his reign; and the earliest example I find of the second seal is dated in the ninth year of his reign.¹ But the first seal was neither lost, nor worn out, nor considered unfit for use by Henry V and Henry VI; by the latter of whom it was used throughout his long reign, with a minute alteration which I will presently refer to.

I think we may infer that the preparation of this seal was one of the numerous means to which he resorted in order to strengthen his claims in the minds of his own people and of foreign powers; making his appeal, in this

¹ Since this paper has been in type I have found a later impression. See annexed table.

instance, by means of a beautiful work of art, through the eye, and by means of the subtle but potent influence of the association of ideas to the mingled feelings of religion and superstition, of attachment to hereditary right, and of reverence for the most illustrious of his predecessors, which we have already described.

Another question of interest remains to be solved, and that is, of what material was this great seal made ?

This brings us to the use of the two seals of Henry IV by his successors Henry V and Henry VI. Professor Willis, in the paper already referred to, quotes numerous memoranda from Rymer, relating to the transfer of these two great seals during the reigns of Henry V and VI, in which they are referred to as the "golden" and the "silver" seals respectively. Willis shows conclusively, from these documents, that the golden seal was that used by Henry V, and the silver seal was that used chiefly by Henry VI. But he draws the erroneous conclusion that the larger seal (I) was the silver seal, and the smaller (G 4) the golden seal. This conclusion I think erroneous, for the reason that all the known impressions of the great seal of Henry V in this country are of the larger type (I); the only instance of the use of the smaller type (G 4) in this reign being the seal attached to the treaty of Troyes, now in the Paris Archives, as stated by Wailly. After the treaty of Troyes in 1420, by which Henry V agreed to adopt the style of "*Henricus Dei Gratia Rex Anglie, Heres Francie et Dominus Hibernie*", we find an order of parliament and a royal precept for the making of a new great seal, with the king's style altered accordingly.¹ There is, however, no trace of this order ever having been carried out. All the impressions of great seals of this reign hitherto brought to light are of the larger type of Henry IV, with the exception above mentioned.

As Professor Willis correctly points out, the documents relating to the great seals in Rymer, prove that the silver seal was that chiefly used by Henry VI; and although we find a few impressions of the larger seal (I) during this reign, a glance at the annexed table of the impressions I have examined of this reign, will show that the smaller seal (G 4) was that chiefly used by Henry VI, and therefore the silver seal.

¹ Rymer, vol. ix, p. 915.

This latter seal, however, appears to have received, in the reign of Henry VI, a small addition, by which we can at once distinguish it from the same type as used by his predecessors. This distinguishing mark, to which Mr. W. de Gray Birch has first called attention, is a small quatrefoil added in the field below the horse, and in the fourth cusp of the inner border from the horse's hind hoofs. This mark is not to be found in any impressions of this seal, which I have examined, earlier than the reign of Henry VI. I believe that the following entry in the issues of the exchequer of the second year of Henry VI is probably a record of this addition to this seal.

18 October. To John Bernes of London, Goldsmith, in money paid to his own hands in discharge of 20s., which the Lord the King, with the advice and consent of his council, commanded to be paid to the said John for his labour, costs, and workmanship, in lately riding to the King's castle at Windsor, and there engraving the great seal of the said Lord the King with the secret sign ("cum signo secreto" in the original), and also for newly engraving an inscription in the circumference of the King's privy seal; by writ of privy seal among the mandates of this term, £1 : 0 : 0.

It is obvious that the sum mentioned cannot have been sufficient for the complete engraving of a new seal, together with the other work mentioned; nor is it likely that John Bernes would have ridden to Windsor to engrave a new seal there. The journey was undertaken, in all probability, to make that small addition to the engraving of the seal which we actually see in the subsequent impressions, and which could have been done in a short time without the seal leaving the castle.

Our account of the great seals of Henry VI would not be complete without reference to the third type which we find in this reign. This third type, named by Willis "K," is engraved in *Trésor de Numismatique*, etc., under "Sceaux de France", pl. xi, 3, and I exhibit a cast of it. It is, as will be seen, not only smaller than the two seals already described, being only 3.8 inches in diameter, but its different style and treatment show it to have been of French design and workmanship. It has no equestrian figure on either side, and the counter-seal is only 1.4 inch in diameter. This seal was probably only used in France, and for French affairs; the only impressions in the British Museum being attached to French documents.

One of the memoranda recording the delivery of the great seals of Henry VI, quoted by Willis,¹ and dated 11th October 35 Henry VI (1456), mentions the three great seals minutely, "to wit, one great golden seal, another seal of silver of a large form, and a third seal of silver of a smaller form"; and the new chancellor seals his first document "with the aforesaid silver seal of the large form". This is consistent with the fact, as shown by the accompanying table, that we have impressions of seal G 4 of the thirty-fifth year. The smaller seal mentioned may be at once identified with the French seal (K), of which, as Willis says, no mention is made until after the loss of the French provinces in 1451. For the reasons given, then, this latter seal is properly to be reckoned among the seals of France, as it is by Lenormant, and not among the great seals of England. The two great seals of England of the three Henrys, IV, V, and VI, those only which we have described, mark the culminating point of excellence in the series of great seals of England of the mediæval period. The first of these, which, as we have seen, is the Breigny Seal of Edward III with the legend altered from time to time, is the special glory of his reign; and the second is the larger seal of Henry IV, which I think I have shown to be that referred to in the documents of the time as the "great Golden Seal", and which well deserves the name, not only on account of the material of which it was made, but also on account of its beauty and its compression within so small a compass of so vast an amount of historical fact, and of legendary and heraldic symbolism.

The impressions of the second or larger great seal of Henry IV (seal I of Willis), proving its actual use during his reign, and which I have personally examined, are seven in number. The first is attached to a charter granted by Henry IV to the Merchant Taylors' Company of the City of London, dated "Westminster, 2nd of August, in the ninth year of our reign." The operative part of this charter runs as follows: "We, therefore, ratifying and approving the grants and confirmations aforesaid, do grant and confirm the same unto our well-beloved Thomas Sutton, the

¹ Rymer, tom. xi, p. 383.

now Master," etc. Thomas Sutton, as we learn from the Company's records, was Master in August 1408, that being the 9th year of Henry IV; and that name does not occur in the list of Masters during the reigns of Henry V or VI.

The second impression is attached to a charter in the Cathedral Treasury at Durham, dated "9th Jan., in the 10th year of our reign." It is entered in the *Repertorium Magnum*, a MS. catalogue of the Durham Charters, written about 1450-60, as a document of Henry IV, and is numbered 1a-5æ, Reg. No. 4.

The third impression is attached to a document in the bursary of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, being a licence of mortmain to grant a certain piece of waste land to the Master and scholars of Corpus Christi College, for the enlargement of their mansion, dated "Westminster, 14th November, in the 11th year of our reign." That the reign here referred to is that of Henry IV, is proved by a later document, also in the bursary of the college (31, No. 63), being a conveyance of the said piece of waste land, in accordance with the royal licence above mentioned, by the persons therein named, to the Master and scholars of Corpus Christi College. This latter document is dated "Anno Regis Henrici quarti post conquestum tertio decimo."

The fourth impression is in the muniments of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and is attached to a "royal licence to exchange the third part of the fourth part of the manor of Repyndon; which third part is held of the crown *in capite* for an annual rent", dated 27th March, in the 12th year of the reign. Annexed to this document is a later one, in which the prior and convent of Repyndon enfeoff the master (John Sudbury) and scholars of Pembroke College in the said annual rent, dated "vicesimo octavo die Junii anno regni Regis Henrici quarti post conquestum duodecimo."

The fifth impression is attached to a document in the British Museum (Add. Ch., 11,158), written in French, and endorsed thus; "2 Juin, 1411, Henri IV, Roi d'Angleterre confirme plusieurs articles ajoutés à la trêve marchande faite entre l'Angleterre et le Duc de Bourgogne." The date, as given in the document itself, is as follows: "Doñ a n're Paleys de Westm'le secund Juing l'an du grace mil quatre cens et unsze et de n're regne l'an douszisme."

The sixth impression which I shall quote is attached to an *Inspeximus* granted to King's Hall, Cambridge, by Henry IV, dated "*octavo die Octobris anno regni nostri primo.*" This date is at first a little startling, for we have not hitherto met with any impression of this large seal dated earlier than the ninth year of Henry IV. Moreover, the date of this charter is only eight days after the King's accession, which was 30th September; and it is quite impossible that the seal could have been made in so short a time. The document, however, bears the following contemporary endorsement: "*Irrotulatum in memorand. scaccarii videlicet inter Recorda de termino Sanctæ Trinitatis anno tertio decimo Regis Henrici quarti.*" Although, therefore, the seal could not possibly have been attached on the date of the charter itself, we have here a period of thirteen years, within the reign of Henry IV, at some time in which the document may have been sealed, prior to its enrolment and endorsement; and I conclude that the seal was most probably attached to the document immediately before its enrolment in the thirteenth year of Henry IV.

The seventh impression is in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral, and the deed to which it is attached contains the words, "*Edwardus nuper Rex Angliæ Avus noster*", proving it to be a charter of Henry IV. It is dated "*28 Oct. anno regni 1º.*" The attachment of the seal, however, must be assigned to a later date, for the reason given in the last instance.

This evidence is, I think, sufficiently conclusive as to the use of this seal by Henry IV; but its weight is increased by the fact that while we find impressions of the first seal (G 4) down to the seventh year of Henry IV, we find but one after that date in the same reign.

Another argument strongly confirming the ascription of the larger seal to Henry IV is the unquestionable likeness, plainly discernible in the sharper impressions, between the face of the king in this seal and the face in his life-sized recumbent statue on his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral.

The only argument adduced against the ascription of this seal to Henry IV is the generally received belief that Henry V was the first English sovereign who adopted

the three fleurs-de-lis only, instead of semé-de-lis, as the arms of France. But I think that this belief must give way before the evidence now brought forward.

In addition to this evidence I may mention the gold nobles and half-nobles of Henry IV's first coinage, and also the armorial bearings of Henry IV, impaling those of his Queen, Joan of Navarre; of Henry Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V; and of various other members of the royal family living during the reign of Henry IV, carved on the bosses of the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral, and emblazoned on the roof timbers of the chapter house. According to Williment,¹ and as may be proved by internal evidence, these heraldic bearings were executed during the reign of Henry IV, and in all these instances the arms of France are given as three fleurs-de-lis only.

The change in the arms of France from semé-de-lis to three fleurs-de-lis only was first adopted by Philippe le Hardi (1270-1285), son of St. Louis, as shown by a seal of his described by Wailly.² The three fleurs-de-lis only also appear on the seal of Philippe le Bel (1285-1314)³; on the seal of absence of Philippe de Valois (1328-1350), attached to documents dated 1333 and 1343;⁴ and also on coins of the same king;⁵ on the seal of absence of Charles V (1364-1380);⁶ and on the counterseal of the great seal of Charles VI (1380-1422).⁷ These last two kings also used the semé-de-lis contemporaneously with the three fleurs-de-lis only.

I append a tabular list of the impressions of the great seals of Henry IV, V, and VI, which I have myself examined. More impressions, doubtless, exist; but the following list is, I think, sufficient to give a fairly accurate representation of the periods during which these seals were respectively used.

¹ *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 145, 91, 64, etc.

² Vol. i, p. 352.

³ See Guigard, *Bibliothèque Heraldique*, Paris, 1861, p. 162.

⁴ Ste. Marthe, *Traité Historique*, Paris, 1673; and Wailly, vol. ii, p. 106.

⁵ Ste. Marthe, p. 53; and Tristan, *Traité du Lys*, Paris, 1656, p. 74, where these coins are figured.

⁶ Wailly, Pl. H. 2; and Lenormant, *Sceaux de France*, Pl. x, 2.

⁷ Wailly, Pl. H. 4; and Lenormant, Pl. x, 4.

HENRY IV. (Began to reign 30 Sept. 1399.)

FIRST SEAL. (G 4 OF WILLIS.)

Where found.	Date.	Regnal Year
York Minster - - - -	1 Jan.	1
Canterbury Cathedral - -	24 Jan.	1
B. M., 8853 - - - -	11 March	1
Pembroke College, Cambridge -	15 Feb.	2
Durham, 1a, 5æ, 1 - - -	20 Feb.	2
„ 2a, 5æ, 2 - - - -	29 March	2
Canterbury Cathedral - -	1 Oct.	5
Durham, 1a, 5æ, 2 - - -	26 Oct.	5
B. M., 6049 - - - -	6 Feb.	5
„ 6016 - - - -	20 March	7
Durham, 2a, 5æ, 7 - - -	1 June	7
Lambeth Palace - - - -	26 Dec.	13

SECOND SEAL. (I OF WILLIS.)

King's Hall, Cambridge - -	8 Oct.	1*
Canterbury Cathedral - -	28 Oct.	1*
Merchant Taylors' Company -	2 Aug.	9
Durham, 1a, 5æ, 4 - - -	29 Jan.	10
Corp. Chr. Coll., Cambridge -	14 Nov.	11
Pembroke Coll. - - - -	27 March	12
B. M., 11,158 - - - -	2 June	12

HENRY V. (Began to reign 21 March 1413.)

(SEAL I OF WILLIS.)

King's Hall, Cambridge - -	5 April	1
Durham, 2a, 5æ, 6 - - -	8 July	2
King's Hall, Cambridge - -	4 Feb.	2
B. M., Campb. xxix, 12 - -	12 June	3
„ 51, H. 5 - - - -	20 Sept.	3
Corp. Chr. Coll., Cambridge -	30 Oct.	3†
Caius College, Cambridge - -	1 Nov.	3†
Canterbury Cathedral - -	8 Nov.	3
Durham, 2a, 5æ, 1 - - -	20 Jan.	3
Michael House, Cambridge - -	28 March	4
Record Office, Duchy L. - -	12 June	4
B. M., 7699 - - - -	14 Nov.	4
Norwich Guildhall - - - -	-	5
Record Office, Duchy L. - -	8 July	7
B. M., 15,239 - - - -	1 May	10

* These two seals must have been attached to their respective documents at a later period than the dates of those documents, as it is impossible that the new seal could have been made so soon after the King's accession (30 Sept. 1399). The first of these documents appears, from a contemporary endorsement, to have been enrolled in the thirteenth year of the reign of Henry IV, and the seal was probably attached then.

† These two impressions are quoted by Willis as "Henry VI or V."

HENRY VI. (Began to reign 1 Sept. 1422.)

THE SILVER SEAL. (G 4, WITH QUATREFOIL.)

Where found.	Date.	Regnal Year
Canterbury Cathedral	5 Jan.	1
Norwich Cathedral		3
Michael House, Cambridge	1 Feb.	3
Canterbury Cathedral	12 June	3
" "	14 May	6
" "	15 Oct.	7
Record Office, Duchy L.	20 Jan.	7
Canterbury Cathedral	20 Oct.	8
B. M., 51, H. 6	20 March	9
" 43, E. 41	1 July	10
" 43, E. 42	20 March	14
" 51, H. 9	5 June	15
" 86, G. 28	12 July	15
" 51 H. 8	25 July	15
Durham, 2a, 5æ, 3	28 Dec.	16
Michael House, Cambridge	11 July	16
B. M., 43, E. 43	1 Oct.	18
Pembroke College, Cambridge	16 Feb.	18
B. M., 10, 144	27 Feb.	18
Pembroke College, Cambridge	4 May	18
Canterbury Cathedral	14 Feb.	19
B. M., 19, 651	16 Feb.	19
" 5, 309	26 Nov.	21
Eton College	8 March	21
Norwich Cathedral	17 June	22
B. M., Sl. xxxii, 4	6 Nov.	23
Eton College	20 April	23
Pembroke College, Cambridge	6 Dec.	24
Eton College	26 Jan.	24
" "	4 Feb.	24
" "	8 April	24
Record Office, Duchy L.	1 June	24
B. M., 22, 640	7 June	24
Durham, 3a, 5æ, 2	29 July	24
B. M., Camp. xxvii, 29	7 Aug.	24
Pembroke College, Cambridge	7 Nov.	25
B. M., 16, 152	20 March	25
" 43, E. 44	14 May	25
Canterbury Cathedral	1 July	25
B. M., 84, C. 20	17 July	25

An examination of the documents to which they are attached proves them to be of Henry V, *not* VI, the attesting clause being "Teste Joh. duce Bedford, custode Angl." John, Duke of Bedford, was guardian of England in the third year of Henry V, during the absence of the latter in France, and *not* in the third year of Henry VI.

Where found.	Date.	Regnal Year
Eton College - - - -	16 Feb.	26
" " - - - -	26 Feb.	26
" " - - - -	1 Jan.	27
King's Hall, Cambridge - -	19 Nov.	27
Durham, 3a, 5æ, 3 - - -	19 Nov.	27
Corp. Chr. Coll., Cambridge - -	20 March	27
B. M., 18,235 - - - -	14 July	29
Canterbury Cathedral - - -	12 Feb.	30
B. M., 19,654 - - - -	14 Aug.	30
" 15,240 - - - -	15 Nov.	31
Canterbury Cathedral - - -	30 Jan.	32
Eton College - - - -	12 July	33
" " - - - -	10 Aug.	33
Norwich Cathedral - - - -	- - -	34
Corp. Chr. Coll., Cambridge - -	3 Nov.	34
Eton College - - - -	20 Oct.	35
Durham, 3a, 5æ, 1 - - -	1 Aug.	35
Eton College - - - -	28 Jan.	36
B. M., 8,480 - - - -	20 Jan.	36
Michael House, Cambridge - -	6 Feb.	36
B. M., 15,207 - - - -	1 March	36
Canterbury Cathedral - - -	4 June	36
Eton College - - - -	26 Nov.	38

HENRY VI.

THE GOLDEN SEAL. (I OF WILLIS.)

B. M., 12,652 - - - -	8 May	13
Canterbury Cathedral - - -	15 Oct.	14
B. M., 51 H. 7 - - - -	28 Feb.	14
Record Office, Duchy L. - - -	12 March	24
Eton College - - - -	5 May	24
" " - - - -	12 March	26

THE FRENCH SEAL. (K OF WILLIS.)

B. M., Add. Ch. 131 - - - -	22 Nov.	15
" Cott., xii, 72 - - - -	26 Sept.	18

ANOTHER SEAL (UNRECOGNIZABLE TYPE).

B. M., Add. Chart. 11,547 - - -	7 Dec.	4
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ANOTHER SEAL (UNRECOGNIZABLE TYPE).

B. M., Add. Ch., 11,847 - - -		14
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These two last mentioned seals, attached to French documents, differ from each other as well as from all the known types above referred to. They are too fragmentary and indistinct, however, for description.

ON THE VOYAGE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

BY REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.

(Read at Plymouth, August 1882.)

THE Association is now in the town which may, to some extent, in the ancient and literal sense, claim to be the metropolis, the mother city, of a large portion of our colonial empire; the Plymouth to which the New England States look back as the town whence the Pilgrim Fathers sailed in 1620; the town whence Drake issued forth on his great voyage, and of which he was Mayor and M.P.; and the scene of the first struggle between the British fleet and the Invincible Armada of Spain, on which hung the supremacy of the ocean; the town of the "sea-dogs" of Devon, who founded England's naval glory. A few words on the greatest of the many famous expeditions that have sailed from this port may not be unacceptable.

The statements of Drake's chaplain, the Rev. Francis Fletcher, as to the sailing of this expedition may be thus summarised. There were five ships: 1, *The Pelican* (Admiral), 100 tons; Capt.-Gen., F. Drake. 2, *The Elizabeth* (Vice-Admiral), 80 tons; Capt. J. Winter. 3, *Mari-gold*, 30 tons; John Thowse. 4, *Swan*, 50 tons; John Chester. 5, *Christopher*, 15 tons; T. Moor. The crews were 164 in all, "able and efficient men", as Fletcher calls them. They sailed from Plymouth at 5 P.M., on November 15, 1577. Running all night to south-west, they came in the morning to the Lizard. Nov. 16, they met there a south-west wind, and were forced back, to put into Falmouth next evening, the storm continuing all night (November 17 and 18); and on November 18, between 10 A.M. and 5 P.M., it was so rough that two of the ships, *i.e.*, *The Pelican* and *The Marigold*, had to cut their mainmasts. To repair these, and "make up other damages sustained in the tempest", they put back into Plymouth after thirteen days' absence. Having repaired these defects, they sailed again on December 13, 1577, for their great voyage, the island of Mogadore being selected as the rendezvous.

The story of the wonderful voyage of circumnavigation has been told again and again. I shall not occupy your time with details of it. Froude has made it familiar to every well read Englishman interested in the annals of his country. Fletcher has given it in quaint, circumstantial narrative. Barrow has put it before us clearly and in detail. It is referred to in every history of Elizabethan England, and has been the subject of several poems, from the Latin poems of the period down to those of our own age. "The Epic of Devon", as it is called, the *Westward Ho!* of Kingsley, gives some of its actors and scenes in vivid language. Ranke, with the calm, critical acumen of a German professor, has weighed its importance in the world's history as a most weighty event in the struggle of the Anglo-Saxon with the Spaniard for the sovereignty of the ocean. I will just recapitulate a few points as a reminder to you. I may say that almost every week of this voyage can be described. The adventures in the South Atlantic, except the mutiny and execution of Doughty, were unimportant. The English then entered the Straits of Magellan, "in frost and snow continually." In three weeks they passed through this difficult and dangerous passage. Then a storm set in, by which Drake was separated from Winter, who returned home to England. Drake was carried far south; but when the storm abated, made for Valparaiso. A galleon was here taken, the Spaniards being quite unprepared. At Tarapaca they surprised the town, and seized the silver ingots lying on the pier. Next they sailed for Arica, and then to Callao. Twelve ships lay in port. They were all seized by the English, their cables cut, and they were left to drift on shore. *The Pelican* sailed north in chase of the rich *Cacafuego*. For eight hundred miles the pursuit continued. At length a sail was seen near Quito: it was the *Cacafuego*. *The Pelican* followed her slowly till sunset, then making sail, she dashed on the Spanish ship, and took her. Three Spanish ships were sent in pursuit by the Viceroy of New Spain. They had 200 picked men on board, and Drake had only 85, of whom but 50 were able seamen. The Spanish captains were afraid of a conflict with *The Pelican*, and returned back without fighting.

Drake had now to think of return. He seems to have

believed in a north-west passage, and after refitting at Canoa, in California, sailed north to 43 degrees, as he calculated. The account the voyagers gave of the coldness of the summer there would lead one to believe they really went further north on the coast of British Columbia. This is one of the geographical problems of this voyage, *i.e.*, the northern limits of Drake's voyage.

Returning to California, he refitted in San Francisco. Here he was well received by the Indians, who gave his crew a grand fête, and, as the voyagers thought, accepted the sovereignty of Elizabeth. Drake's power of dealing with savages was remarkable.

Then came the long voyage over the Pacific. Avoiding the Philippines he made straight for the Moluccas, where he stopped at the island of Ternate, near Celebes. Here they were received by the natives with great kindness, and even some splendour. They crept round Celebes, among the coral reefs, and then made for Java. Here, after having passed safely through so many dangers, the *Pelican* was nearly lost on a reef. But after great alarm, and throwing overboard some of their cannon and freight, the ship lightened, and was carried off by the tide. "And we hoisted our sails, and were lifted off into the sea again, for which we gave God the thanks."

The *Pelican* then sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, rounding which she sailed for Sierra Leone, where she took in water. Then she made for Plymouth.

The disputing with Spain the sovereignty of the Southern Seas was an important fruit of this voyage. As yet the Spaniards were the only Europeans who had navigated these seas, and they claimed them as their own. Now, the English disputed their right over these waters, with what success ultimately, our Australasian Colonies, and our Pacific fleet give an answer. Now Spain owns only the Philippines in the Pacific; England, an empire almost in Australasia.

The practical discovery of California and its acquisition by the Anglo-Saxon race was another fruit of Drake's enterprise. When his success on the Peruvian coast excited the anger of the governor of Peru, and the Spanish ships were pursuing him, or closing his retreat through the Magellan Straits, he tried for the north-

west passage, but failing, after reaching (probably) British Columbia, sailed back to refit at San Francisco. This country was taken by him in the Queen's name. It is true it is not, and never was, English; but the Anglo-Saxon race have gained wealth and power in the richest of the United States—California.

The foundation of British enterprise and rule in Australasia, in other words, the first commencement of our vast Australasian Empire, was when the first Englishman, Drake, sailed in the Australian seas. From California he crossed the Pacific Ocean to Ternate, whence, after an illustrious reception, he made for the south of Java; and thus, sailing homeward, approached within a few degrees of the corner of Northern Australia, and the regions to the west of Carpentaria. Australians have a claim on Drake as well as Californians. Their history is meagre and brief; but if they would look beyond the hundred years or so which has elapsed since Captain Cook visited Botany Bay, or the earlier voyage of Tasman, they have only Drake to remember as the first English captain who navigated their seas. On this ground we in Plymouth have asked the Australians to join in our memorial.

“The successful navigation of the Globe.” Drake was the first captain who successfully navigated his ship around the world. Magellan is usually counted as the first circumnavigator, and in some sense justly so. His ship was indeed the first to go round the world, but Drake was more fortunate, for he brought his ship *Pelican* home safely. In any case he was the first Englishman who sailed round the world. In these days, when circumnavigation is a mere matter of payment, and when thousands, for profit or pleasure, are circumnavigators, we can hardly realise the courage and talent of those Englishmen who first sailed from the Port of Plymouth. The account of the return is thus given by Fletcher:—“And the 26th of September, which was Monday in the just and ordinary reckoning of those that stayed at home in one place or countrie, but in our computation was the Lord's Day, or Sunday, and we safely, with joyful minds and thankful hearts to God, arrived at Plymouth, the place of our first setting forth, after we had spent two

years, ten months, and some few odd days besides, in seeing the wonders of the Lord in the deep, in discovering so many admirable things, in going through so many dangers, and overcoming so many difficulties in this our encompassing of this globe, and passing about the world which we have related."

The joy at Plymouth at the almost unexpected return of Drake was very great. He was the first English captain who had "ploughed a furrow round the world"—a fellow voyager of the sun, as he was quaintly called. It seems the Mayor and Corporation received him in state, and St. Andrew's bells rang to welcome him and his brave seamen. His first act on his return home, was to go to his native place—Tavistock. Still, at first all was not smooth. Philip protested, as we all know, at Drake's action, through Mendoza, his ambassador, and Edmund Tremayne, a magistrate, was entrusted with the care of registering Drake's treasure, which was placed in Saltash Castle and thence moved to the Tower. The rest—Drake's reception of Elizabeth at Deptford, his knighthood by the Queen, the enthusiasm at London at his wonderful voyage, the various honours he received—all these belong to English rather than Plymouth history, and are thrice-told tales.

A good modern biography of Drake, with a *résumé* of the results of recent researches, is a desideratum. Since the subject of his memorial has been before the public, a good deal of research has been given to the subject, and some fresh light has been shed on certain obscure parts of his life. It would be a good thing if all these could be gathered up into one complete biography more recent and thorough than that of Barrow. I may say that the Drake subject never has been let to slip, as observations of *Notes and Queries* during the last twenty years will show. He ever has been acknowledged as one of the chief of our naval heroes, and one of the founders of the naval supremacy of England.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 78.)

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23, 1882.

THIS morning the members of the British Archæological Association left Plymouth for Totnes, where they proceeded to embark on the steamer *Hawley* for Dartmouth. The party was about seventy in number, Mr. Wright, F.S.A., as Honorary Congress Secretary, and Mr. Reynolds as his hon. assistant, taking command. The weather was luckily propitious for the voyage down the Dart. On rounding some of the headlands, however, the party experienced the treacherous character of the wind on this river, and one lady had the misfortune to lose her hat overboard. With the exception of that interruption, the party arrived safely at Dartmouth.

On landing, a visit was paid to St. Saviour's Church, where Mr. Brock, F.S.A., had an attentive audience while he drew attention to the rood-screen, the pulpit, and the other objects of interest in this remarkable church. Mr. Brock pointed out that the west end of the church corresponded to the known date of the consecration of the church, 1372; and that the east end was of the time of that famous Dartmouthian, Sir John Hawley, about the commencement of the fifteenth century. The main walls, however, are of the earlier date, showing that the shell of the older building was retained when the church was restored. The rood-screen, which is in oak, and of magnificent fan-tracery, Mr. Brock said, is one of the glories of the Devonshire churches, and well worthy of inspection. The pulpit is of stone, and although of the same date as the screen, it suffered mutilation at the time of the Reformation, when the original sculptured figures were destroyed, and afterwards emblems and arms of Charles I's time inserted in their places. Some discussion took place about the ornamental work of the galleries, which was of the period of Charles I, but which upon one side had worked into it the date 1816. Mr. Brock said there was probably a restoration, in 1816, in the same style. He also called attention to the altar-picce, a large picture of "The Raising

of the Widow's Son", painted by John Brockendon of Totnes, an artist who, Mr. Brock thought, ought to be better known. The picture bears date 1818. Attention was directed to the very singular Communion Table, which is supported at each corner by a figure of one of the Evangelists. St. Matthew, who supports the north-west corner, is shown as a double figure : it may be because his Gospel is found in two languages ; but the fact, according to several of the archæologists present, is unique.

The brasses upon the chancel-floor were commented upon by Colonel Bramble. One is a monument, in a fine state of preservation, to Sir John Hawley and his two wives. Colonel Bramble said the knight wore a specimen of the armour used for the last twenty years of the fourteenth and the first ten years of the fifteenth century. It was of the camaille period, and was dated 1409. The second brass is that of Gilbert Staplehill, Mayor of Dartmouth. The gown in which his Worship was robed had come down, with more or less modification, to the present day, as the official garb of our mayors. This brass was of much later date.

During the detailed examination of the church, it was generally considered to be of remarkable interest. In going out of the church the party discussed the very curious ironwork on the south door. There was a date on the ironwork ; but Mr. Brock thought it was inserted at some time when the old work was repaired.

Then the visitors went to inspect the old houses in the Butterwalk. Sir James Picton, F.S.A., was of opinion that they could certainly not be older than the reign of Elizabeth, regarding them as being very good specimens of old timbered houses, and intimated that, taken in conjunction with others in different parts of the town, they represented a period of considerable prosperity. There were many houses of the same class dotted up and down the town, some inferior in architecture, but displaying the same principles, with the ornaments more or less dilapidated, of an age contemporaneous with the renovation of the church ; all combining to prove that the time must have been a very memorable one for the ancient port. The archæologists were gratified to notice that in many new shops and buildings, the fronts had been treated in the characteristic style, and that the picturesque appearance of the historical town was in careful hands.

Afterwards, some visited St. Petrock's Church, and the Castle at the entrance to the harbour. The two buildings combine to make a remarkably picturesque group in the landscape ; but injudicious repairs have almost obliterated the architectural features of the ancient church.

At 2 P.M. the visitors returned to Totnes, where a pleasant time was passed, thanks to the arrangements which Mr. Edward Windeatt had made. After luncheon at the Seven Stars Hotel, the archæologists

proceeded to inspect the large granite pebble known as Brutus' Stone. Tradition alleges that on it Brutus of Troy landed ; but Mr. Windeatt did not appear to cherish a vast amount of respect for the tradition, in spite of the fact that it has for a long period been customary for the Mayor to proclaim, from this stone, the accession to the Crown of a new sovereign.

Thence the visitors wended their way to East Gate, one of the four original gates, of which two only now remain. The East Gate, which has been much modernised, formerly consisted of two arched portals ; one for carriages, which was enclosed with gates, and a smaller one, a "needle's eye", for foot passengers. It was the room over the gateway, however, which most gratified the spectators, there being there a beautiful specimen of early Renaissance work in the form of a fine coloured carved frieze above the linen panelling, and surrounding the room. Mr. Brock explained that the work was of a kind not often found in England. The work was certainly not manufactured in this country, but came either from France or Flanders, the linen carving being added to make a harmonious whole. The frieze Mr. Brock took to be of sixteenth century date, a little older than the linen work. Mr. Windeatt observed that this theory would correspond with the fact that about the time mentioned the merchants of Totnes had considerable dealings with the French and Flemish ; and Mr. Brock added that in London there was even now carried on a very considerable trade in old carvings from France and Flanders.

Mr. Windeatt mentioned that he had recently discovered that the owner of the house in which they were assembled was always appointed the portreeve of the town, and not, as Mr. Brooking Rowe suggested, that the house was granted as a residence to the portreeve.

Arrived at the church, Mr. Windeatt gave some most interesting remarks to the company. Mr. Windeatt's services were duly acknowledged in subsequent speeches ; but at this point we may mention that among other kindnesses he had had an epitome of the history of Totnes printed for the occasion, and distributed among the members. Mr. Windeatt, from the outside of the church, first called attention to the fact that it was built of old red sandstone ; no other building in the town or neighbourhood being built with the same material.

The earliest notice of the existence of a church in Totnes is in a charter of Judhel de Totnais, the Norman Baron to whom the Conqueror granted the borough, by which he grants the church, referred to in the charter as "*ecclesiam Sancte Marie de Toteneo*", to the great Benedictine Abbey of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Angers. The church appears to have been rebuilt, and the new one consecrated by Bishop Brondescombe in 1259. The church was again rebuilt about 200 years afterwards, Bishop Lacy, in 1432, granting an indulgence of

forty days to all who contributed to the work. Over the outer doorway of the south porch are the remains of an ancient sundial, and what appears to have been three coats of arms. The higher one has the appearance of being the town arms. The inner doorway has over it the remains of a saint's niche, and a shield with the arms of Bishop Lacy. About half-way up the fine old tower are three niches containing figures. The centre one is supposed to represent Bishop Lacy, and under the figure, in raised letters—"I made the Tour." In the niche on the right-hand side is a robed figure which may represent Prior Stoke, Prior of the Priory of St. Mary, Totnes, who subscribed £10 towards the erection of the tower; and on the left the figure appears to be that of a soldier, with crossed legs. This figure is much dilapidated.

At the east end of the church, in the yard, was noticed a large buttress pierced by an archway. This buttress and archway, which have lately been much altered, have caused no little conjecture as to their origin and use. One of the greatest objects of interest in the interior is the very handsome carved stone rood-screen under the chancel arch, with two parclose screens. It appears from some ancient documents, that, 38 Henry VI, an order was made by the Corporation (who up to 1836, had control of the church), that the chancel should be divided from the church with freestone, as the Cathedral Church at Exeter was. This screen has recently been restored. The Corporation stalls, which are handsomely carved, were erected in 1636, and stood in front of the screen; they now face the entrance. In the church are shown an ancient Bible and Prayer Book, presented in 1690 for the use of the Mayor by Lady Anne Seymour, relict of Sir Edward Seymour. The pulpit is of carved stone, and was, no doubt, originally in keeping with the screen. In the south wall of the chancel is a hagioscope, and on the north side a fine rood-turret, with stone staircase leading to the rood-loft; the base of the turret has the remains of two piscinæ. In the south aisle were noticed the remains of a Perpendicular tomb to the memory of Walter Smith, who died in 1555. On the north side of the tower is a marble monument to the memory of Christopher Blackhall and his four wives. It formerly stood on the south side of the chancel, but has been moved during the restoration to its present position. Mr. Lambert, F.S.A., doubted whether the screen did not consist almost entirely of new stone, but Mr. Windeatt assured him that it was substantially the same screen, with little bits inserted here and there where the work was crumbling.

Mr. Brock followed Mr. Windeatt with a few observations. He said it was very seldom that the members of that Association had listened to so graphic an account of the raising of a sacred building as they had just heard. The care and research Mr. Windeatt must

have given to the preparation of the details laid before them, no man could probably estimate better than himself. He (Mr. Brock) might be able to appreciate it somewhat at its proper value, since it fell to his lot frequently to search old documents, and to submit the results to their Association. No one but Mr. Windeatt could know the amount of labour given to this subject; but being on the spot, and having access to the documents, he had, of course, singular opportunities for the work.

The church, Mr. Brock continued, was a characteristic specimen of an ordinary Devonshire church; and it was above the average, so far as its size and ornamentation were concerned. The window-tracery generally, he believed, followed the old lines; but the east window was a modern production, an admirable design of Sir Gilbert Scott. With regard to the screen, they were very fortunate in having that day seen at Dartmouth the best oak screen in the county, and here they saw the best stone screen. With respect to the restoration of the church, its general lines were excellent, and they must congratulate the Vicar on his having been able to tender to the parish a church restored so pleasantly, and with all the requirements of its sacred purpose so well arranged for; but, at the risk of saying what was invidious, Mr. Brock proceeded to complain of the removal of a monument from the chancel to the tower. It was not in accordance with the requirements of archæologists that the later monuments of a building, though perhaps not harmonising with it, should be removed.

A Gothic church owed its charm to a great extent to the fact that so many parts of it did not harmonise. We could often trace the history of a parish by little details, which, perhaps, did not strike every eye, but all of which had their history; and to obliterate the later features of the church was to obliterate a certain portion of its history; and we might, with equal logic, remove any of the older parts of a church, in this desire to bring everything to one dead level of uniformity. While speaking, Mr. Brock took occasion to mention that there was in the north-east angle of the chancel outside a peculiar open arch. This arch was of much earlier date by several hundred years than the rest of the church. He would attribute it to the end of the thirteenth century. If looked at carefully, he could not but think they would agree that it was a portion of a much earlier building which stood upon that spot, and was another example of how these Devonshire churches were almost entirely rebuilt in the fifteenth century.

Mr. Brock also suggested that the old baldachino, which stood in the chancel before the restoration, might have been put in the tower instead of being removed from the church.

Mr. Reynolds congratulated Mr. Windeatt and his fellow citizens in

having one of the best stone screens, not only in Devonshire, but in England.

Sir James Picton made some observations with respect to the present position of the screen in its relation to the rood staircase which exists in the chancel wall, the side parclose screen intervening. He also called attention to the old Prayer Book presented to the church for the use of the Mayor, by Lady Seymour. The book was published in St. Paul's Churchyard in the reign of Charles II; but it was prefaced by a plate of an interior of a church, the plate being of much earlier date than the book.

An adjournment was made to the venerable Guildhall, where there were in waiting to greet the explorers, the Mayor of Totnes (Mr. Edward Harris), Mr. Alderman Kellock, Councillors A. S. Distin, T. Hannaford Synon, F. Tucker; and these gentlemen, in turn, were introduced to the members and visitors by their fellow Councillor, Mr. E. Windeatt.

The Town Clerk, Mr. W. H. Presswell, and the Rev. J. Powning, the head master of the Totnes Grammar School, were also in attendance. Sir James Picton expressed the delight it gave him to have the opportunity of visiting their interesting old church and Guildhall, and they were all very pleased to acknowledge the kind manner in which the Corporation had received them.

The Mayor, in reply, bade the visitors heartily welcome to this ancient borough—one of the most ancient in the county, and perhaps in the country.

Mr. Windeatt said the building in which they were assembled was on the site of a portion of the old Priory of St. Mary. They had a document which recorded the building and the contiguous edifices in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Mr. Brock suggested that if they took down the ceiling they would probably find an open oak roof under it.

The Corporation records were produced by Mr. Windeatt, who read quaint extracts from them.

In 1687 the freemen refused to elect Sir John Southcote as recorder, in the place of Sir John Seymour, at the King's bidding, and Mr. Windeatt thought it did credit to the men of his borough that, when they felt the king to be wrong, they were quite ready to resist him. They helped to regain the liberties of England by such means. One old lady was brought before the Mayor, because she said she didn't care who was king so long as she enjoyed her own religion. A Totnes man was taken up during Monmouth's rebellion, simply for saying that Monmouth had 12,000 men. Mr. C. H. Compton added some remarks upon the ancient charters of the borough, which he had culled from the report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission; and

Mr. George Lambert, F.S.A., followed with some interesting observations upon the Corporation maces and cup. The latter was marked "Q", which he said was equivalent to 1693. The maces, though curious, had, he thought, been restored, and the hall mark obliterated. Like some church restorers, they had pulled down that which was good, and put up that which was not quite right. Mr. T. C. Kellock, the registrar of the Archdeaconry of Totnes, shewed the ancient seal of that archdeaconry.

The company then proceeded upstairs to the Council Chamber, where light refreshments were supplied through the hospitality of the Mayor and Corporation, and under Mr. Windeatt's direction the ancient charters and other curiosities in the possession of the Corporation were displayed. At a convenient juncture, Sir James Picton, in the accidental absence of Mr. Morgan, the Hon. Treasurer of the Association, thanked the Mayor and Corporation for their reception, which he said had been hospitable and gracious, and he coupled with it the name of a gentleman who had distinguished himself by his attention to the antiquities of that borough—he meant Mr. Windeatt. For the intelligent manner in which Mr. Windeatt had pointed out the various objects of interest in the borough, and the pamphlet he had written on the subject, they owed him many thanks. In the race for modern commerce and trade there could be no doubt that Totnes had been left behind in comparison with such upstart places as Manchester and Stockport. He (Sir James) did not say Liverpool, because they at Liverpool were quite as ancient a borough as Totnes. The Liverpool charter dated from King John, and they had a kind of sneaking regard for that much maligned monarch, for in the creation of Liverpool he evidently had the eye of a statesman. But Totnes had an antique history from the time the Northmen sailed up the Dart, and found the hill a stronghold where the castle now stood. From then until now it had enjoyed a fair share of trade and prosperity, and if it did not now stand foremost in the race it could look back and say with Byron—

"We have been glorious in another day."

Sir James went on to hope, however, that the prosperity of Totnes was by no means a thing of the past, and humorously added that he saw no present evidences of any decline in its material resources. Of its present Mayor he could only say—long might he live and happy might he be, and might the town yet recover some portion of its whilom prosperity.

This sentiment was cordially received, and Mr. John Reynolds observed that, after many years of connection with the Association, as well as the Institute, he had never witnessed more interesting remains or mingled with more agreeable people.

These kind expressions were acknowledged by the Mayor, who remarked that he was pleased to find that the visitors were so gratified with what they had seen. Personally, he continued, he was a comparative stranger to Totnes, albeit born in the borough; and after an absence of forty-four years in London, he had come back to be made the Chief Magistrate of his native town within the first year of his election as a Town Councillor. He had worked his way up; he was not ashamed to admit it; and considered that he acted wisely in retiring when he had accumulated sufficient to live upon in comfort amongst his fellow-townsmen. Totnes, although not so prosperous as formerly, was Totnes still, and its people knew perfectly well how to uphold it. These observations of the Mayor were greeted with approving comments; and before quitting the Guildhall a general examination of the building was made, and much information gleaned by the party.

The Guildhall, which stands on the north side of the church, was formerly a portion of the site of the Priory of Totnes. In the main hall was noticed the old stocks, also an elm trunk with a hole bored through its centre, and used as a water-pipe. Pipes of this kind were laid in 1697-8, and discovered during sewerage works a year or two since. Similar pipes with a larger bore have recently been discovered, which had evidently been used as sewage pipes. In this hall is a large oil painting by William Brockedon, a native of Totnes, son of a Totnes watchmaker; the scene is from the poems of Ossian. Brockedon was the author of the *Passes of the Alps*, and other illustrated works; he was also an inventor. In the gallery was noticed a coat of arms, which appeared to be that of a member of the Bedford family; in 1630, Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, was high steward of the borough. In the Council Chamber stands a very ancient chest, and a very curious arm chair, used by the Town Clerk.

The archæologists then left for the Castle, *vid* the Piazzas or Rows formed by the projecting of the upper stories of the houses. These are supported by pillars, and formed the original market-place of the town. They are all in High Street, above the church, and a few years since were more extensive, and under them "Hose of fine Totnes" and woollen manufactures of the town were sold. Soon reached, and with some little difficulty mounted, was the Castle. It is close to the north gate, which is still standing. On a lofty mount is a circular keep, probably of Norman origin. "By whom it was first buylded, whether by the first inhabitants, or by the kings of this realme yn whose demeanes the said town was, or by Judhill unto whom the king gave the towne to be holden of him, or by the Lady Melesont Monhant, the Lord Cantelope, or the Lord Zouche, who all in their descentes were lords of the towne, it doth not appeare, but it was

buylded either by the inhabitants of the same for the defence of theymselfes and of their towne, when before the Conquest the Danes and fforeyn enemyes used invasions and excersysed great cruelties as well in this west countrie as yn other places of the Lande, or by some one of the Lordes, and for their command of the town did buyld the same."

Such, in brief, were the explanations tendered by Mr. Windeatt, and Mr. Brock followed with some interesting observations. There were many theories which might be offered as to the peculiarly formed shell-keep. Mr. Brock's view was that the earthwork was of greater antiquity than anything in the town, and that the masonry erected on the Castle had at so late as the twelfth century replaced the woodwork by which this conical hill was originally surmounted. The doorway was a pointed arch. He had no difficulty in assuming that the first Norman lord of Totnes came there into possession of a wooden castle, which answered his purposes until his successors erected a permanent one in stone. The same thing occurred at Plympton and Trematon. In answer to one or two inquiries, Mr. Brock believed that the mound was an artificial one, more or less aided by nature; but history rendered no help whatever as to its probable age. The name of Totnes seemed to tend to the elucidation of the point. "Ness" was a common name for promontories, and if the Danes did not erect the mound themselves, they must have found it already erected. The "Tot", he thought, might owe its derivation to the firegod Tutatis, and the connection between the hill and fire-worship was one of a fairly debatable description.

A discussion followed; but dusk and rain overtaking the visitors, a descent was made from the ancient ruins, and Plymouth was reached about ten o'clock.

THURSDAY, 24TH AUGUST.

The excursion on this day was to the Tavistock and Lydford district; and a large party made the start in the morning from the North Road Station, by special South-Western train. The weather was windy and showery at intervals, as well as clouded; but it in no wise marred the enjoyment of the day.

Alighting at Tavistock, carriages were taken and a start made for Lydford *via* Blackdown. This route had been happily chosen with a view of illustrating the character of the scenery. Passing Peter Tavy and Mary Tavy on the right, and the great burrows of Wheal Friendship, when the summit of Blackdown was reached, a glorious view opened out over Dartmoor and along the valley of the Lyd. The long range of hills that terminate in Yes Tor could not have been

seen to better advantage. Lydford soon came into sight, and the village was reached in the midst of a heavy shower, where the party found Mr. Daniel Radford kindly waiting to receive them; and the Rev. Mr. Bennett's representative also ready to conduct them to the church.

The church was the first place visited, and the company were delighted to find themselves in so interesting an old building. By its dedication to St. Petrock it would seem to be of ancient British foundation; but the present building is chiefly fifteenth century work, though there is a good deal of decorated masonry, with a very elegant decorated piscina. The font, which is perfectly plain, and circular, has been regarded as Early Norman; but, as Mr. Brock said, may be much earlier—perhaps Saxon.

On the portal being reached, Mr. Brock remarked that the members were within a building of very great antiquity. Its tower was different from anything the Association had seen in Devon, and the original plan was that of a very early building. Having examined the exterior, he found structural indications that the present western part never formed a portion of the original building, and it was very possible that the original church consisted only of a simple nave, and probably a small chancel. The western part was of the date of the south aisle itself. They had, within the walls of this very simple little edifice, evidence of how the growth of the church must have commenced thus from smaller things than the present. The tower was built some two feet away from where the old western wall formerly existed. On the north side there were evidences of the outside angle, the quoins being visible. The builders of the tower—like wise men—erected it so that it would not interfere with the services of the church. With respect to the age of the building, he would not venture to assign a date to the rough walling on the north side where the original wall commenced; it might be of very great antiquity indeed. Taking the font, however, on the evidence of its workmanship, it appeared to be of very early Norman date, but the researches which had been made into our old fonts, of recent years, had shown us several fonts of Saxon date, not at all unlike the one which was before us now. The windows on the north side of the church were insertions of about the middle of the fourteenth century. To the whole of the remainder of the church—the beautiful western tower and the south aisle—they might assign the middle of the fifteenth century. The tower was particularly interesting, and he commended it to the special notice of the visitors. It was built entirely of granite, and the work was massive and good. The dilapidated condition of the roof, Mr. Brock did not suffer to escape his attention, and suggested that it would give the custodians of the fabric some trouble before long. The principal

ribs followed the lines of the barrel, and were carved with flowers, which were perceptible even now in the decayed state of the timber. Another curious ecclesiological feature was the traces of the position of the rood-loft, which was open all the way up to the point at which the priest emerged. Another feature of the church which was seldom met with, was the manner in which the floor perceptibly rose from the west end to the chancel steps. Mr. Brock also commended to notice the massive blocks of granite used in the construction of the building.

Mr. R. N. Worth, F.G.S., President of the Plymouth Institution, who had undertaken to give a historical sketch of the town and castle, followed. They were gathered upon the most suggestive historical site in Devon. Those crumbling ruins and that pretty village were all that was left of a great stronghold of the Damnonii long antecedent to the Roman occupation, and of a Saxon borough which in the days of the Confessor rivalled Exeter, and even after the Conquest successfully asserted its claim to be taxed only with London, York, and Winchester. The Hildaforda of the Saxons, it had a mint as early as the reign of Ethelred the Unready, in whose time its name was first recorded on the pages of history—the Danes in 997 destroying the minster at Tavistock, and forcing their way as far as Hildaforda, “burning and slaying everything that they met”. If Lydford was taken by the Northmen, as seemed to be implied, its recovery must have been rapid, for, in another three-score years or so it had become the most populous burgh in Devon, Exeter alone excepted. The next blow to its fortunes was given by the Conquest, for Domesday stated that forty houses had been laid waste there “since the King came into England”. The devastation possibly arose from the resistance Lydford offered to the Norman arms; if so, it was more honoured in its decay than many a city in its grandeur. Up to this date it was defended by earthworks, probably those of the original “hill fort” strengthened.

The situation of Lydford was one of great capabilities—a tongue of land with deep ravines on two of its sides; a stout rampart drawn across the neck made it well defenced, well-nigh impregnable. This portion of the earthworks could yet be traced, though their existence never seemed to have been suspected until three years ago, when they were discovered by the speaker. What sufficed for the Saxon did not suffice for the Norman, and he reared the castle—a true keep—on an artificial mound of moderate height, with the base court on the north-west. The castle was mentioned as early as 1216, when it was granted to William Brievre. With the Forest of Dartmoor it became part of the possessions of the Earldom, afterwards the Duchy, of Cornwall, and in 1305 there was evidence that it was used as the Stannary prison. In all probability the fabric dated from the later part of the twelfth century, and formed one of the border fortresses by which the

roads skirting Dartmoor were commanded. It had had many vicissitudes, but almost within living memory it remained the place where the Duchy Courts were held. The building at various times had been much pulled about; still Late Norman work was apparent on the south-east and north-east fronts. The entrance was on the north-west. The lower stage of the walls was, in places, eight feet thick. The area of the castle was entirely open to the sky, but divided by two partition walls into three apartments. A pit, in that on the left of the entrance, was the dungeon which obtained so evil a repute in connection with the traditional Lydford law, *teste Browne*—

“How in the morn they hang and draw,
And sit in judgment after.”

Here was imprisoned Richard Strode, in the reign of Henry VIII, whose incarceration was said to have given rise to the saying. Strode, however, was imprisoned by due process of law, and was a very doubtful martyr. Then it was said that Judge Jeffery (who haunted the castle in the shape of a black pig) had sat there, but there was no need to saddle his memory with anything more than it could fairly be made to bear. As a matter of fact “Lydford Law” had passed into a proverb as far back as the reign of Richard II; and the most reasonable supposition was that it arose from the intolerable practices of the courts once held in the castle for the Forest of Dartmoor. Lydford sent members to the first Parliament of Edward I, but ceased in the reign of Edward III. There was a Corporation and a Mayor, however, down to the middle of the last century, and the oldest and most gray-headed man in the place was always chosen coroner.

A move was then made to the castle, the curious modern cromlech tombstone being visited *en route*.

Mr. Brock considered that the castle answered to all the requirements of a Norman castle so far as the plan was concerned. The architecture, however, prevented his giving a Norman date to the work, and the low pointed arches indicated no earlier date than the beginning of the thirteenth century. Probably much of the stonework belonged to the time of King John. With respect to the mound on which it stands it must be apparent that such a circular mound would never have been built to have carried a square tower. The mound was of very great antiquity, but the castle was much later. The base appeared to run off in a certain direction towards the church, as though the earthworks had been of great size. If the mound was not of ancient British date, it was certainly that of a Saxon stronghold, probably of wood, and occupying a site, prior to the erection of the masonry, on the mound itself.

Mr. Worth said that he claimed the east angle only as Late Norman,

and thought the pointed arches of later date. Some gentlemen held it all to be Edwardian. The Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma remarked that Lydford was one of the largest parishes in England—90,000 acres. The area of Halifax is, however, still greater.

Sir James Picton remarked that the legend of Lydford Law was by no means peculiar to Lydford.

Unfortunately there was not time for the whole party to visit the great exterior earthworks.

Before quitting Lydford, the members were indebted to Mr. Radford for an invitation to proceed through The Gorge, and a considerable number availed themselves of the privilege. On the way back, the route *via* Brent Tor was chosen, and a few archæologists, who had walked on during the interval, mounted the famous eminence, and inspected the Chapel.

On arriving at Tavistock the members found awaiting them, at the Bedford Hotel, a handsome luncheon provided by the Duke of Bedford. In the unavoidable absence of His Grace, the chair was occupied by the Rev. W. J. Tait, M.A., Vicar of Tavistock; and at the termination of the repast a few toasts were inevitable. The Rev. Chairman commended the Queen as an interesting link between a glorious past and a hopeful present, and the appropriate sentiment was heartily applauded.

In terms of eulogistic character, Mr. Wright, F.S.A., as Vice-Chairman, proposed the health of their noble host, with interesting reminiscences of the kindly manner in which the Duke of Bedford had contributed, during the Wisbech Congress, to the comfort of all present on that occasion.

The Chairman, in reply, could assure the meeting that nothing gave His Grace greater pleasure than in any way to help on any good work. He not only did all in his power to assist by erecting model dwellings, but by doing all he could to elevate and raise the moral and material condition of those around him. He was glad to welcome the Association to that town; and when he heard that they purposed visiting it, promptly desired to entertain them with his characteristic hospitality. Tavistock was not only a picturesque little town, but it was full of the memories of the past. There stood there an abbey which was burnt by the Danes when they sailed up the Tamar so far as Lydford. The history of Tavistock formed no mean feature of the history of England, and that history, and the monuments linked therewith, were in most careful hands. The Duke of Bedford was now about to give the town a colossal statue of Sir Francis Drake.

Sir James Picton conveyed to the Rev. Chairman the thanks of his colleagues for the manner in which he had presided at the repast; and

the compliment having been acknowledged, the members at once proceeded to the inspection of the church.

The members were offered some interesting observations on Tavistock Church by Mr. Brock. The first date found in connection with the church was 1184, when an important record was discovered which made it clear that the fabric then existed, dedicated to St. Eustachius. The next date found was that of 1318, when the Bishop of Exeter consecrated the church, which had apparently been rebuilt at that time. He regretted, with Mr. Rundle, that many rare old documents had been destroyed, in one of which mention was made of a payment to the sacristan of the monastery. Here, as at St. Andrew's, Plymouth, continued Mr. Brock, the architecture fitted in very badly with the dates. The south aisle he took to be the aisle of St. Thomas à Becket. It was curious to find in the building occasional traces of the work of the fourteenth century. There was evidence that the church must have been all but remodelled a little later. The building itself exemplified all the points to which he had drawn attention as characteristic of Devonshire churches. There was no clerestory; there were the pointed, barrel-roofs; the windows were broad and lofty; there was a chancel-arch, which was an unusual thing; and there was a western tower, which was a very usual thing. At the east end they would see fragments of older work. Modern research led them to believe that in these western counties, when Saxon England was under a cloud of heathenism, there existed Christian churches. It was surprising to find that in Devon and Cornwall there were more churches dedicated to the older saints than in any other part of the country.

The opinion of Mr. Lambert was then given on the old pewter vessels in the church, and which he designated old "sack-pots."

The Vicar also kindly exhibited the Registers, the chained copy of Erasmus, and the curious old cope-chest found at the Bedford Hotel, with a Bible in its secret drawer, and some supposed human bones below it. The Rev. Mr. Tait also called attention to the fact that while Devon was the fifth county into which the art of printing was introduced, it owed this distinction to the Tavistock Benedictines, who in 1525, or earlier, set up in their midst the eighth press that the kingdom had seen. Only two works from this press were now extant, the earlier of which gave the name of the printer as "Dan Thomas Rychard, monke of the sayd Monastery." This was an edition of Boethius. The only other extant production of the Tavistock press was a copy of the old Stannary Laws.

Escorted by Mr. Brock, the visitors now proceeded to inspect the site and remains of Tavistock Abbey, a church which was probably as large as Exeter Cathedral. Entering by the east gate, of late twelfth century work with fifteenth century additions, the guest-house, which

remains, was pointed out; and from the space in front, the positions of the chapter-house, church, and the other buildings of the Abbey were indicated. The extent of the space occupied by the buildings, cloisters, and courts, had been ascertained from old rentals, in which a certain area is designated as the "Abbey scite". The remains of the Abbey, extend from the precincts into the gardens, orchards, etc., which probably were large, as considerable traces of ponds (the monks' fish-ponds) were found when the foundations were being excavated for the houses now standing there. The road named Bedford Place was made at the beginning of the century, there having been no thoroughfare there before. It passes through the site of the Abbey Church from east to west. The passage through the western gateway (called Betsy Grimbold's Tower) is now closed by a wall. It had occurred to Mr. Rundle that a portion of the upper part of this gateway was used as a place of confinement, from some indications there. The abbots were possessed of considerable civil powers within the manor of Hardwick, even to the extent of inflicting capital punishment. The old boundary-walls enclosing the Abbey site (those facing the river) have a walk formed on them, just below the battlements. A tower-like building of two stories, at the south-west corner of the Abbey, which has always been known as the Still House, was much admired, the upper story having been entered from the walk on the south boundary-wall. It has been much altered on the inside. The building now used as the Unitarian Chapel, Mr. Brock thought to be the refectory. The stone niche or pulpit in the north wall, where the reader at the meal-times of the monks was placed, was removed not a great many years since, and the present east doorway of approach was inserted. It was brought from elsewhere, since it is ancient granite work. The original roof still remains, hidden by the plastered ceiling; but the mouldings of the purlins and the ornamental portions of the principal timbers, which projected before the line of the circular ribs, have been cut away. Considerable attention was paid to the entrance to the refectory, with a groined ceiling of stone; and a chamber over, which was formerly approached by a circular stone staircase. This chamber has a handsome oak roof with trefoiled principals, now much decayed. It is proposed to make a fac-simile restoration.

Passing on, Mr. Brock indicated the position of an oblong building, the last portions of which were removed about seventy years since, which had been considered to be the kitchen. From what Mr. Rundle had heard from old inhabitants, it probably had at one time an upper story. The archway of the site of the watergate had been taken down within Mr. Rundle's remembrance. It was a low four-centred arch of granite, of about eight feet opening, and was shown in some old engravings of the remains of the abbey buildings. Formerly there

was a ford across the river at this spot, the bridge and weir being of modern construction. Tavistock had, up to the middle of the last century, only two bridges across the Tavy; the East Bridge—now destroyed—which was situate some distance above the Abbey, and is shown in old engravings of the town as having several pointed arches; and the West Bridge, now existing, but much modernised, near Fitzford. Nothing of the interior of the upper story of the Town Gate is left, and the roof is down. It must have been an apartment of considerable importance; the stone staircase, now taken away, was in the tower at the south-east corner. From what Mr. Rundle had seen at various times when excavations have been made in the road in front of the Bedford Hotel, he felt that he would not be far wrong in saying that there stood the Abbey Church. The arches and wall of Early English date now standing in the churchyard might have been a part of the north side. Encaustic tiles have been found, forming portions of the floor, about seven or eight feet below the present surface; and near the eastern end a large slab of stone was come upon which seemed to have formed the top of a tomb, and had an abbot's staff carved upon it. Pieces of white Beer stone, richly carved, which looked like portions of tabernacle work, have also been dug up. When old houses in the town, built about the middle of the seventeenth century, have been taken down, numbers of blocks of stone, parts of cusped tracery, foliated capitals of columns, and arched panellings, have been discovered built into the walls. These are, almost all of them, Early English or Middle Perpendicular in style. In the construction of the abbey, granite was extensively employed for the pinnacles, windows, staircases, etc., but the bulk of the walls, all the squared ashlar, much of the tracery of windows, carved caps of columns, and ribs and filling of the groining, were made of an impact trappean ash stone, found about two miles from Tavistock. It was a very durable stone. In the more delicate work of the interior of the church a white stone, coming from Beer, was very extensively used, as evidenced by the quantities of pieces of finely-carved work which have, at different times, been dug up or found embedded in walls built since the dissolution of the monastery. Some of these were richly gilt and coloured. Very little is known of the relations between the abbey and the parish church; but the old churchwardens' accounts, of which there was a very complete series, from 1386 up to the end of the eighteenth century—before the bulk of them was unfortunately destroyed some years since—contain entries of payments to the sacristan of the Monastery from the receipts of oblations to the ten altars which stood in the church, these altars having been dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St. Thomas, St. Catharine, the Holy Trinity, St. Eustace (the patron saint of the church), St. Blase, St. George, St. John the Baptist, St. James the Apostle, St. Salmachus, and St. Andrew—these

two latter being mentioned as in the chapel of John Dunbernorme. The above notes are almost entirely derived from particulars rendered by Mr. Rundle to Mr. Brock.

The three inscribed stones in the vicarage garden were examined with much interest. Of these, the "Nabarr" stone is the most interesting, from its bearing an Ogham inscription. It is said to read, in Roman letters, "Dobunni Fabrii fili Ennabarri", though Mr. C. Spence Bate, who has carefully worked out this subject, considers the last word should be "Nabarr". Nine years ago the Ogham characters were detected by Mrs. Ferguson. The stone was found at Buckland Monachorum by the late Rev. E. A. Bray, who placed it in his garden with the other two, and who in many ways did good service to the cause of local antiquarian research. The second of the stones is lettered "Sabini fili Maccodechetti", and was also brought from Buckland. The third was found by Mr. Bray used as a footbridge over a stream; and the inscription here is regarded as being "Neprani fili Conbevi", or "Condevi". All three are, therefore, memorial stones of Roman-British date, while the Ogham characters on the first, if not the name "Maccodechetti" on the second, give proof of that early Irish intercourse with the West of England, to which it is most probable its conversion to Christianity was due.

By the courtesy of Mr. Perry of Tavistock, a fifteenth century window, which he had discovered under plaster and restored, was inspected. It is charmingly mullioned, and cusped. It was probably brought from the abbey.

A meeting was held at the Athenæum in the evening, under the presidency of Mr. Morgan. Mr. J. Phillips of Abbotskerswell read a paper entitled "The Finding of an early Statue at Abbotskerswell Church," which it is hoped will be printed hereafter. This was followed by "The Antiquity and Antiquities of Plymouth," by Mr. R. N. Worth, F.G.S., which has been printed above, pp. 35-43.

The Rev. W. Lach-Szyrma lamented the destruction of old Plymouth, and showed how wrong it was to destroy evidences of antiquity. The destruction of the smallest old monument was an injustice to posterity. He was afraid that the destruction in Plymouth had been extreme.

The third paper was entitled "Robert Blake, Colonel and General at Sea, 1657," by Mr. E. G. Bennett of Plymouth.

Mr. Worth raised a question with reference to the removal of Robt. Blake's remains from the Abbey; and Mr. Bennett replied that they were removed by order of Charles II, but a good Dean of St. Paul's intercepted them, and had them re-interred in what is now St. Margaret's churchyard, Westminster.

Mr. F. Brent, F.S.A., read a paper, by Mr. D. Slater, on "The Exeter Book," in which the claims of a new translation of this important Saxon record were advocated. The proceedings then concluded.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 4, 1883.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

MR. C. R. BAKER KING, A.R.I.B.A., presented a drawing of the altarc canopy formerly in the parish church of Totnes, Devon, with the following

NOTES ON TOTNES CHURCH.

BY C. R. B. KING, ESQ.

At the visit to the church in 1882, Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, objected to the removal of the Blackhall monument from the south wall of the chancel to the north wall of the tower. Knowing Mr. Brock's long acquaintance with ecclesiastical antiquities and traditions, I was surprised to hear of his objections. The upper part of the monument contains a kneeling figure of Chr. Blackhall, and beneath are the kneeling figures of his four wives. These, when the monument was on the south wall of the chancel, all faced *west*, contrary to the universal traditional custom, in which all personages face in one direction. Although the monument stood in the way of some desirable re-arrangements of the chancel, it would not have been disturbed but for the fact that the design of its figures showed that the position it then occupied could not have been that for which it was prepared. In all probability the monument was removed to the south side of the chancel, from another part of the church, when the building was fitted up in every available corner with high pews; the monument formerly occupying a space more suitable for seats than the site to which it was then removed. The stairs to the rood-loft, and the priest's doorway (in this instance on the north side), occupy so much of the wall-space on the north side of the chancel, that the monument could not well have been placed there; and there was no evidence that it ever had been so situated. There are no vacant wall-spaces in the chantry-chapels or in the nave-arches, the seats abutting on every part; so that the tower was the only available place for it. Here it is well placed, in a good light, and in a place of dignity; the tower being

open to the church, and used as the baptistery. In connection with the erection of high pews in the church, I may mention that the rood-loft, which was 9 or 10 feet in width from east to west, was filled up with pews facing west. The vestry was at the same level, over a portion of the south chapel.

During the visit surprise was expressed at the distance of the rood-loft stairs from the rood-screen. When I first knew the church some of the original beams of the loft remained. There was a level passageway, of a few feet in length, from the top of the stairs to the main loft extending across the chancel. From this passage a beam was placed obliquely to the loft over the north chapel, supporting a triangular piece of flooring giving access to the northern portion of the loft. This was necessary on account of the solid spandrel of the side-arch of the chancel cutting off a great part of the main floor, and preventing easy access without some such expedient. The loft across the south chapel had been modernised. The eastern beam of the floor over the north chapel has good fifteenth century mouldings. It is now placed next the stone screen. In its original position its end came into the window-recess. It was there supported by a chamfered oak post resting on the inner sill of the window. This post is, I believe, now preserved, with other relics, in the parvise. I mention these particulars respecting the loft because such features so rarely remain, the screens having generally been denuded of their carved canopies and lofts. The loft here was of unusual width from east to west; the only other instances of such dimensions, that I know of, occurring in churches having so-called solid stone screens, or double screens of wood or stone.

There were no brasses, nor any stones with the matrices of brasses.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited a collection of terra-cotta vessels, some ancient glass objects, and a thurible or priest's hand-warmer, of latteen. Replying to the remarks relative to the western aspect of the Totnes monument, he considered that this was very probably original, and intended.

Mr. J. T. Hand sent for exhibition an impression of the device on a massive gold signet-ring of the fifteenth century, found in the neighbourhood of Mansfield while making a drain, about 18 inches below the surface, in a stiff, red clay.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, laid on the table a series of finely coloured drawings of terra-cotta, bronze, and iron antiquities, and translated the notes accompanying them, forwarded by Señor José Brunet of Barcelona. These were found in an orange-garden in the district of Cabrera, near Barcelona. It is hoped that a translation of Sr. Brunet's descriptive notes, with some account of the objects by Dr. S. Birch, F.S.A., of the British Museum, by whom the antiquities

were first brought to the notice of the Association, will be printed hereafter.

In the discussion which ensued, Dr. Birch, Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., and Mr. Brock, took part.

Major A. P. di Cesnola, F.S.A., exhibited an extensive collection of alabaster vases found by him in Cyprus. These objects are finely carved, and of very various shapes. They range, in point of date, from a high antiquity to post-classical times, and show Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, and Roman influence.

Dr. Birch, Mr. Brock, Mr. W. H. Cope, and Mr. C. Brent, took part in the ensuing discussion.

Mr. W. G. Smith, F.L.S., exhibited, at the request of Mr. Morris C. Jones of Gungrog, our Local Secretary for Montgomeryshire, a mortar-like object, with trunnions, made of millstone grit, found in a bog in Montgomeryshire. It is of uncertain date.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., V.P., exhibited two small bottles from India, of amber colour, believed to be made from fragments of antique glass; a dish with two equestrian figures; and a small pot or flagon to match, apparently made of latteen, with subjects in relief, formerly in the possession of Mr. J. T. Burgess of Worcester.

Mr. Mayhew was proceeding to read notes upon these two objects when Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., drew the attention of the meeting to the fact that a similar pot was to be seen at Canterbury. Mr. Mayhew hereupon promised to give a further account of them hereafter.

Mr. W. de G. Birch made some remarks upon the armorial bearings on the caparisons of the equestrian figures. One has a swan or pelican vulning herself (the arms of several German towns), and an imperial eagle with two heads; the other, a lion rampant.

Dr. T. J. Woodhouse exhibited some objects connected with coining:

1. A series of Roman coins comprising an *as* and the fractions of the *as*, complete with the exception of the *trianz*. The *as* of circular form. Weight, $9\frac{2}{4}$ ounces. A rough surface on each side of the margin shows that these coins were cast in a row, and afterwards separated by a fracture. The oblong, as the oldest, is exceedingly rare. The one exhibited is probably as old as 300 B.C. It bears on the *obv.* the two-headed Janus; and on the *rev.* the prow of a ship, with the numeral I above.—The half *as* or *semis*. *Obv.*, head of Jupiter; *rev.*, prow of a ship and the letter S=*semis*.—Quincunx. *Obv.*, head of Pallas; *rev.*, an owl, with some letters, IIA, and five dots below.—Quadrans. *Obv.*, an outspread hand and three dots; *rev.*, two barleycorns and three dots. A quadrans was the price of a bath in Juvenal's time.—Sextans. *Obv.* and *rev.*, a dolphin and two dots.—Uncia. *Obv.* and *rev.*, a knuckle-bone.—A silver denarius of the time of Hadrian. Value, ten asses nominally, but afterwards sixteen asses.

2. A drawing of an object representing an old die, of which kind many may now be seen in the Chapel of the Pyx, Westminster. These dies were used, in the ancient provincial mints, in the manufacture of hammered coin. They are all worn and used, and were probably returned to this treasury when new dies were substituted. The obverse, or lower die, was called the "standard", and had a spike at the end, which was firmly fixed in a solid block of wood. Upon this was laid the piece of metal to be stamped. The reverse, or upper die, called a "trussel" or "puncheon", was held upon the lower die by the coiner, between a twisted hazel-stick; a second person striking the puncheon with a large hammer. A wax impression from the more perfect of these dies shows it to have been of the Durham mint. Sir Francis Palgrave says these dies were of the time of Edward I, II, III, Henry VII and VIII.

3. Two tally-sticks of the Jews' Exchequer, from the Chapel of the Pyx. These sticks were given to creditors as an acknowledgment of identity, no written forms being of use in those days. The portion split off was kept by the money-lender, and exactly fitted the portion given. The large notches represent pounds; the next size notches, shillings; and the smallest notches, pence. The Jews' Exchequer was founded in the reign of Richard II.

The last object shown was an illustration of the perfection and beauty of modern work, and is a coronation-medal of William IV. It bears on one side the head of the King, and on the other the head of Queen Adelaide.

Mr. Brock then read the following paper entitled

THE READING BRANK.

BY JOSEPH STEVENS, ESQ., M.B.C.P.

I have lately made the discovery of a brank, or scold's bridle, in the County Prison at Reading; and as the new Museum at Reading is just being completed for the use of the public, I made application, as Chairman of the Museum Sub-Committee, to Her Majesty's Commissioners of Prisons, who granted my request that the relic should be placed in the Museum. In its general form the instrument bears a strong resemblance to some of the branks in the north of England, and particularly to one figured in Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, which is described as having been found behind the panelling of a room in the ancient mansion of the Earls of Moray, Canongate, Edinburgh. The Reading implement is in height $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the diameter from behind, forwards, being $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From the woodcut it will be observed that it is not of a particularly severe form; but it greatly differs from another specimen obtained by me in Hampshire, of which an

account, with a sketch, was printed in the volume for 1877 of the British Archæological Association.

The Reading brank is built in the usual way, of longitudinal and lateral hoops of thin iron; and it opens at the back, to admit the head, by the means of two side-hinges and a vertex hinge. The hinge-plates are secured by an iron hoop for the reception of a padlock, or possibly a leading chain. There is a division in the nose-plate for that organ to pass through, and there are holes in the plate; and the gag is pierced with holes, which the Chaplain of the Prison suggested might have been intended to relieve the flow of saliva. A cushion is fixed in the dome, which, it has been thought, was for the purpose of relieving pressure on the top of the head. I should imagine, however, that no such humane intention was its object; but that rather, as the brank is deep, it was to prevent the gag from falling below the level of the mouth. The soldier's feather adorning the top implies that the instrument was used to maintain prison-discipline over refractory soldiers and others, who must have been frequently incarcerated in the Prison for desertion and similar offences; although I am not aware that any instance has occurred where the brank has been used on men. It was most likely kept in the Jail for public use on women, as it appears was the case with the Congleton Bridle, respecting which there is a notice that the punishments connected with it were assigned to the jailer of that town.

From the scarcity of the brank in the south of England, and from the comparatively large numbers well known to be present in the northern parts, I had almost ventured on the belief that the southern people had occupied a higher moral platform in the treatment of refractory women, until I found that notices regarding the "ducking-chair" were present in the archives of most of the southern corporate or magisterial bodies; my list immediately around here comprehending Southampton, Newbury, Devizes, Marlborough, Salisbury, and Banbury; which led me to the inference that while the brank was more common in the north, the "cucking-stool" was its equivalent in the south.



Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., read a communication, entitled:—

REDSTONE HERMITAGE, WORCESTERSHIRE.

BY THE REV. J. P. HASTINGS, M.A.

Scattered on the banks of the Severn are a few rock-dwellings, caverns hollowed out in the soft red sandstone, generally overlooking the river, either on its present bed or in some deserted branch of it. These caves were occupied by hermits or recluses; some being a mere cell, others presenting a chapel, refectory, and even corridors, imitating cloisters.

In the lawless times of the Reformation and Rebellion these excavations became rather the resort of river pirates than of holy anchorites, and after descending to be the storehouses of inferior farm produce, they have now lapsed to their original desolation before the graving tool of man was lifted upon them.

Among the most curious of these hermitages is that of Redstone Rock, on the confines of Astley and Areley parishes, Worcestershire, near Stourport. Redstone Rock abuts on the Severn, and its base is washed by the Severn, especially in flood time. It was formerly a place of great resort for devotees of high renown in Papal history. Habington says, to show how great men valued this place, "that many who traded on the river, gave as they passed in their vessels, portions of their commodities to this hermitage." It was originally the inheritance of Sir T. Bromley of Holt and Abberley, and was sold to the late Lord Montfort. Its situation was anciently of great importance, as it commanded the ferry here over the Severn, on the high road then connecting Wales with Worcester and the capital. No doubt the body of Prince Arthur was brought across this ferry from Ludlow Castle, where he died, to be buried (1502) at Worcester Cathedral. Ticknell House, near Bewdley, late residence of John Bury, Esq., where Prince Arthur resided, was Royal demesne, from which fact Areley obtained the suffix of "De Rege", or "King's", or "Regis", as its wood was an outlying part of the Royal Forest or Chase of Bewdley, which was subdivided and sold about 1870.

The face of Redstone Rock, where the excavations are found, is about 200 yards long and 100 feet high. The main opening is an arched cavern leading into the chapel. There are carved niches over the doorway, and a shield of arms on each side the doorway, viz., Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Mortimer, Lords Warden of the Marches. In the centre those of England (see Habington MSS.). On entering the chapel, a corridor cut in the rock branches off to the left hand, and leads to the monks' cells. On the right hand, overhead, is the ancient pulpit, a mere ledge of rock, the stair access to which has disappeared, close to which is a window whence, tradition

says, the monks could survey the river and boats or barges passing. There is still at the altar end an aumbry or recess remaining, on the south side; and over the altar was a fresco painting of an archbishop celebrating mass before the instruments of our Saviour's Passion. This has wholly disappeared, except a few blotches of paint. Above this picture were lines promising indulgence to those who worshipped at this shrine. At the dissolution, Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, wrote to Thomas Cromwell, Lord Essex, August 25th, 1538, complaining of this rock dwelling, and its inhabitants, which is only divided by the river from Hartlebury Parish, in which is situated the Episcopal Palace. "Hereby (*i.e.*, hard by)", says Latimer, "is a hermitage in a rock by Severn, able to lodge 500 men, and as ready for thieves and traitors as true men. I would not have hermits masters of such dens, but rather that some faithful man had it."¹ Bodies of the monks buried in the soft sandstone were disinterred here as late as 1736.

But the chief glory of Redstone consists in the fact that here was born and here lived the Saxon author Layamon, who was Priest of Earnley (*i.e.*, Areley Kings). He flourished about King John's time, and translated Geoffrey of Monmouth's works into Norman-English, and added to them. These form the germ of the present English language. Layamon wrote the History of the early British Kings from Brute of Troy, son of Æneas, to Cadwallader, A.D. 689.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 18, 1883.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents to the library:—

To the Rev. B. H. Blacker, M.A., for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries". Part xviii, April 1883.

To the Library Authorities, for "Report of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow", 1882.

To the Author, for a Treatise "On the Crypt beneath the Chancel of Repton Church, Derbyshire", by J. T. Irvine, Esq., 1883.

To the Society, for "Collections relating to Montgomeryshire". Part xxxii, April 1883, vol. xvi, 1.

To the Society for "The Archæological Journal", vol. xl, No. 157, 1883.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a contemporary portrait, painted on panel, of Mary Tudor, Queen Consort of Louis, King of France, and sister of King Henry VIII.

¹ *Vide Parker Society, Latimer's Remains*, p. 401.

Mr. Sherborne exhibited an engraving on a card, of the Old Chelsea Bun-house. Allusion was made by several members to other views of the same relic.

Dr. Woodhouse exhibited fragments of Roman pottery from Silchester; one piece of a mortarium bears the name MARIANVS set in a guilloche border on the edge; two Roman nails, Silchester; a saucer of dark clay, found covering a vessel containing the bones of a child, Putney; various tokens of the eighteenth century; and a metal tobacco-box with a view of Leyle (probably Lisle) on the lid.

Mr. Worthington Smith exhibited a bronze celt from N. Ireland; and a bone pin of the kind usually found with Roman remains, Highbury.

Mr. Walter Myers, F.S.A., exhibited a large collection of antiquities. Among them a variety of palæolithic implements; four chipped flints from quaternary strata; another from tertiary rock; a worked stone celt of great size and beauty, a celt of New Caledonian jade; a celt of agate; another of polished black diorite; a Roman weight of black stone; a copper chisel or celt of small dimensions, covered with a fine bright green patina, Chiusi; a series of delicately-worked arrow-heads, chipped flint, Chiusi, Cortona, and other sites; lance-heads of bronze; arrow-head, Sicily; flint saw or knife, Cortona; a terra-cotta sheep, a Roman toy; two Roman keys with niello work; the butt end of the arming of a lance; a bronze hairpin; inscribed leaden bullet, ovoid; and a drawing of a supposed *lituus* in the Vatican Museum.

Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., V.P., drew attention to the exhibition he had made at the last meeting, of two metal objects, a dish and pot or flagon, and proceeded to exhibit a collection of bronze and iron *styli*; a Roman *fala*, found in the bed of the Thames, at Blackfriars; a Roman comb, from the site of Northumberland House; and some Chinese and porcelain vessels, and other articles, all of which will be described hereafter. In the discussion which ensued Mr. W. H. Cope, Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A., and Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., took part.

Dr. Douglas-Lithgow, F.R.S.L., F.S.A., read a paper on "Saul, in Ireland, with especial reference to the history of St. Patrick", and laid on the table a map explanatory of the sites referred to.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1883.

T. MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The ballot for the officers and Council for the ensuing session, 1883-1884, was declared open, and taken, after the lapse of the usual interval, with the following result :

President.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G., F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD; THE EARL OF CARNARVON; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE VERY REV. THE LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, DEAN OF WORCESTER; THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.; THE LORD WAVENEY, D.L.; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOUTTON, BART.; SIR W. W. WYNN, BART., M.P.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., F.S.A.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM
SIR H. W. PEEK, BART., M.P.
H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT.
JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
A.W. FRANKS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.
THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

J. O. H. PHILLIPPS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. PREB. SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.
E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.
STEPHEN I. TUCKER, Esq., *Somerset Herald*
JOHN WALTER, Esq., M.P.

Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

Honorary Secretaries.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A.
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A.

Palæographer.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.

Draughtsman.

WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, Esq., F.L.S.

Council.

G. G. ADAMS, Esq., F.S.A.
GEORGE ADE, Esq.
THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.
CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.
ARTHUR COPE, Esq.
WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq.
R. A. DOUGLAS-LITHGOW, Esq., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.R.S.L.

J. W. GROVER, Esq., F.S.A.
R. HORMAN-FISHER, Esq., M.A.,
GEO. LAMBERT, Esq., F.S.A.
J. T. MOULD, Esq.
W. MYERS, Esq., F.S.A.
GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.
J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.
REV. ALEXANDER TAYLOR, M.A.
J. WHITMORE, Esq.

Auditors.

A. CHASEMORE, Esq.

W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31ST DEC. 1882.

RECEIPTS.

Balance from 1881 in favour of the Association £380 5 6
 Annual subscriptions and donations £380 5 6
 Life-compositions and entrance-fees . 98 14 0

Sale of publications
 Received of Mr. J. Reynolds, additional receipts
 belonging to Great Malvern Congress
 Balance of receipts from the Congress . £54 13 10
 at Plymouth
 Ditto from London Excursion, by Mr.
 Geo. Patrick 8 0 0

Received from Mr. Gordon M. Hills, proceeds of
 an old fund handed over to the Association
 agreeably with the entries in the Minutes

£615 7 6

£ s. d.
 13 7 2

478 19 6

18 7 9

16 9 3

£54 13 10

62 13 10

25 10 0

£615 7 6

EXPENDITURE.

Printing and publishing *Journal* £78 0 6
 Illustrations to the same 15 0 0
 Less donation by Mr. W. H. Cope
 Miscellaneous printing and advertising
 Delivery of *Journals*
 Rent for 1882, and clerk's salary
 Stamps, stationery, postages, carriage of antiqui-
 ties, etc.
 Insurance of books at 19 Montague Place
 Balance to new year in favour of the Association

£ s. d.
 240 1 6

63 0 6

20 13 0

19 11 7

62 1 3

10 11 3

0 10 0

198 18 5

£615 7 6

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected
 with the above balance sheet, and have found them
 correct, the balance in favour of the Association
 being £198 : 18 : 5.

ARCHIBALD CHASEMORE } *Auditors.*
 GEO. PATRICK }

April 26, 1883.

The Chairman then laid the balance sheet on the table, and read the.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1882.

"At our last Annual Meeting the accounts showed a small balance in favour of the Association, a result not attained for many years previously. This year I have the honour to present a balance-sheet by which it is seen that £198 : 18 : 5 is carried over to the new year in favour of the Association. At the same time it must be observed that this is due, in a great measure, to a considerable payment of arrears of subscriptions, and rather a larger amount than usual of life-compositions, as well as to one item of an exceptional character.

"The Congress at Plymouth and the London excursion have produced £62 : 13 : 10; and since the accounts have been closed, a small sum has been received from Mr. G. R. Wright, which will go to the credit of the Plymouth Congress, and will appear in the accounts of the following year.

"Our fortieth Congress, to be held at Dover in August next, will, we trust, not be the worst that we have had in a financial point of view, and our Congress Secretary fills us with bright hopes of its success. Notwithstanding the economy practised, we may congratulate the Editor of our *Journal* upon having given us a full and well illustrated volume for the year 1882.

"T. MORGAN, *Hon. Treasurer.*"

The adoption of the Report having been unanimously carried, Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Librarian*, stated that he considered too much money was spent on the production of the *Journal*, and moved a resolution "That recommendation be given to the Council to consider in what way the expenses connected with the production of the *Journal* may be best reduced."

This was seconded by Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A., and carried.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., moved a resolution, "That no article which was made subsequently to the year 1750 be exhibited at the evening meetings." This was also carried.

Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, read the

SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31st, 1882.

"The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Associates of the British Archæological Association, at the annual meeting held this day, their customary Report upon the State and Progress of the Association during the past year, 1882.

"1. By comparing the list of members of the Association in the current part of the *Journal*, dated 31st March 1882, with that of the corresponding period of last year, a total of 426 names is shewn against

similar totals of 445, 444, 449, 447, in the years immediately preceding. For the last few years, therefore, the numerical strength of the Association has evidently been stationary.

"2. Biographical notices of those whom we have lost by death have, as far as it is practicable, been prepared from materials submitted to the editor for that purpose. These will be found in those parts of the *Journal* which are set apart for the object.

"3. During 1881, eighty-two complete works or parts of works have been presented to the library of the Association, and it is hoped that the long-looked for catalogue of the books and relics in possession of the Association may be prepared and published to the advantage of the members.

"4. Thirty-nine of the most important papers read at the Congress held at Plymouth, or during the progress of the sessions in London, have been printed in the *Journal* of the past year, and illustrated with forty-six plates or woodcuts, some of which have been partially or wholly contributed by the liberality of some of our Associates and friends, to whom thankful recognition is due in this respect. The Hon. Secs. are glad that they are enabled to announce that there is no falling off in material for the proper continuation of the *Journal*, inasmuch as they have in hand many important contributions both to British and to foreign archæology, from the pen of associates and others."

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, } Hon.
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, } Secs.

After the moving and adoption of the customary resolutions, in which the thanks of the Society were tendered to all who had in any way assisted the Association, the Chairman read the following:—

NOTES ON THE PAST SESSION.

We can hardly pass over our Annual Meeting without casting a look behind at the session now drawing to a close, and at the work which has been done in it.

If our evening meetings have not been so plentifully supplied with specimens of new "finds", we have certainly had interesting accounts of new discoveries and descriptions of the antiquities found. Mr. Brock has furnished measurements and particulars from actual survey of a portion of the Roman wall laid bare near Moorgate, showing the rest of the Roman wall to be identical in all the points where it has been yet observed. He announced also, from the information of Mrs. Dent, the finding of a Roman villa in Spoonley Wood, near Sudeley Castle, which is a discovery distinct from a portion of pavement seen by the Association when we were entertained last at Sudeley.

Mr. Brent, F.S.A., read a paper by the Rev. C. D. Gedge on a Roman villa discovered at Methwold in the Fen country, as well as notes of Anglo-Saxon discoveries at Stowting in Kent; and Mr. J. T. Hand sent a note of archæological investigations at Seagry, Wilts; and this leads me to refer to Cadbury and Dolbury, two camps in Somersetshire, which Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., has surveyed and drawn on careful plans, with a description of each, a useful addition to our previous collection of earthworks in the *Journal* by the same hand.

Among foreign discoveries, our travelled associate, Mr. Walter Myers, F.S.A., has sent an account of a Roman villa discovered at Benizza in Corfu; and, as it is proposed, after the ensuing Congress at Dover, to pass a few days in France, I would call attention to the Roman antiquities found at Sanxay, near Poitiers, of which the Rev. Preb. Scarth sent a notice; also I would refer to the account, by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, of the "*Tabula Honestæ Missionis*" found near Liège, the text of which was first forwarded to our Association, with an explanation, by Mr. C. Roach Smith, in March 1881, because upon it are inscribed the names of companies of the Tungri, of the Lingones, and the Nervii, serving in the Roman armies in Britain, and drawn from nations who had once fought so gallantly against Julius Cæsar in defence of their own lands.

Through the courtesy of Mr. A. W. Franks, F.R.S., F.S.A., the members of the Council of this Association, together with those of two other Archæological Societies, were invited to partake of his hospitality at the British Museum, and there to inspect the two new rooms recently arranged for Anglo-Roman and Anglo-Saxon antiquities; and we had the benefit of Mr. Franks's description of them, and of his new plan of arrangement, by which the objects are grouped together in correspondence with the spots where they were found. This plan greatly adds to the interest of the collection, particularly as the positions of the urns and other objects have been marked where practicable, and the mode of placing them, so that nothing is wanting to show the purport of the various antiquities, from the leaden and other coffins to the refined implements and adornments of social life, which figure in the cases in and around the rooms, and are placed in something like chronological order as well as local distribution.

Passing to mediæval times, we have had several records of early masonry revealed by Mr. Brock, F.S.A.; as, for instance, a piece of architecture with sculptured caps, at Westminster, of the original building of Edward the Confessor; and the wall of part of Whitefriars House, near Fleet Street, now first exposed to view; and the foundations, under ground, of the old church of St. Leonard's, East Cheap, burnt in the great fire, and never rebuilt, but the ground-plan of which was perfectly depicted by Mr. Brock.

Dr. Phené filled up an evening by discoursing "On existing Scandinavian and Keltic Customs on the Scottish Border", the result of a visit to the north country, illustrated by diagrams in support of his views.

An account of Cuddy's Cave, the supposed hermitage of St. Cuthbert, by Dr. Alfred Fryer, and a paper on the landing-place of St. Patrick in Ireland by Dr. Douglas Lithgow, F.S.A., lead us to speak of the valuable and hitherto unpublished documentary records of early history, printed at length and explained by Mr. W. de Gray Birch; and among the list of charters in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Wells Cathedral, is one by William II, granting the Abbey of St. Peter, Bath, to John of Tours, Bishop of Wells, in augmentation of the bishopric of Somersetshire, dated Dover (27th January), A.D. 1090; and another, an *inspeximus* by Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, of the grant by William, Abbot of Bec, of the church of Cleeve, co. Somerset, to the monastery there. I have referred to these two, out of a great number equally interesting, because they happen to bear upon localities visited. And as connected with Crediton in Devon, I should not omit mention of Mr. Birch's interesting document concerning that See, which was laid before one of the evening meetings.

Early mediæval times have been illustrated by Mr. W. H. Cope's valuable history of stained glass, with examples of the different periods; and Mr. H. Watling's drawings of windows in churches in Suffolk have further enabled us to compare these with other examples of synchronous portraits, as those of Cardinal Wolsey and others. The art of glass-painting has also been brought down to the seventeenth century, by the examples produced by Mr. E. Walford of glass in the windows of Oriel College, Oxford, and of Sir Harry Vane's house at Hampstead. A wall-painting over the chancel arch of the church of St. Thomas at Salisbury, of which a drawing was sent by Mr. Swayne, further shows the feeling of the time; together with the tapestry in Knowle Park, Kent, of which the Rev. G. W. Lewis sent us a photograph and description. The same may be said of other church wall-paintings, of which fac-similes were exhibited. Chivalric times have been represented in the valuable and interesting description, with reproduction of the MS., of the original Camden roll of arms by Mr. J. Greenstreet, dating from 1278 to 1285, with contemporary names and arms of a period when barons by tenure were dying out, and barons by writ were taking their place.

Notwithstanding what has been said about the paucity of exhibitions, some choice specimens may be named in the objects in metal and alabaster from the Cyprus Collection of Major A. P. di Cesnola, F.S.A., and the miscellaneous objects produced by Mr. W. Myers from Italy

and Egypt. From the latter country, Mr. Flinders Petrie brought fragments of wine-jars, which he said had formed part of the supply of the soldiery at Thebes in Egypt. The Rev. Mr. Mayhew shewed a variety of objects, from Roman times, found in and near London, to the glass manufactured vessels, both ancient and modern, of various nations. Dr. Woodhouse's fine specimens of the Roman *as*, and of other weights, showing its subdivisions, may be mentioned, as well as other antiquities produced by Mrs. Arthur Cope, Mr. Chasemore, Mr. R. E. Way, and Mr. Worthington Smith, not to speak of many by Mr. Brock and Mr. Wright, F.S.A.

We must regret that ill-health has again deprived us this session of the assistance we used to derive from our Vice-President, Mr. Syer Cuming, at the evening meetings.

The Horners' Exhibition at the Mansion House has been a feature of the session in its archæological aspect, planned and described by our Associate, Mr. C. H. Compton. The shophar, or horn of the Jewish nation, caused an animated discussion, from its resemblance in form to the Roman *lituus*, a musical instrument used in Roman camps, well known from its representation on coins and in sculpture, but seldom or never found in substance, though Mr. Walter Myers produced a drawing of one he had made from a real specimen in metal seen by him in the Etruscan Museum of the Vatican.

The Association has not neglected its share of duty in protecting ancient monuments. Mr. Grover was active in obtaining the expression of our opinion towards preventing the desecration of the *cursus* and earthworks on Salisbury Plain, by running a railway across it; Mr. Brock was equally prompt in endeavouring to save the Abbot's House near Bristol Cathedral, and the Tol House at Great Yarmouth; and Mr. Blashill by an appeal in favour of opening out the Eleanor Cross at Waltham, now shut in by buildings. Mr. Compton has favoured us with the text of the new Bill for the preservation of ancient monuments; and the schedule of them will be most useful, not only as a record of the monuments themselves, but as a reminder of the many which have been left out, and which ought hereafter to come under the operation of the bill.

I have to thank my fellow officers and the members of the Council very much for their attendance and assiduity at our meetings to the work and objects of the Association, and to whose labours its present well-doing is greatly due.

The proceedings terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 16, 1883.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the following donors for presents to the Library :

To Geo. Gould, Esq., for "The Greek Plays in their Relations to the Dramatic Unities." London, 1883.

To the Society, for "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland," vol. vi, 4th Series, Jan. 1883, No. 53.

It was announced that the Council had agreed to exchange Transactions with the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited a collection of pottery found in London, chiefly black, brown, buff, and salmon-coloured ware, of Roman age. Mr. Brock also exhibited, on behalf of Mr. H. Watling, a large and beautifully executed series of coloured facsimiles of painted and stained glass, and of effigies in rood-screens, in churches of East Anglia. The following notes relate to the most important of these facsimiles :

"1. Catherine Wylde, wife of Sir Thos. Clopton, and grandmother of John Clopton, by whom the Clopton family acquired the Kentwell estates. She was also the ancestress of a much greater family, for her second husband was Sir William Tendring of Tendring Hall, in Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk, by whom she had one child, Alice Tendring, who married Sir John Howard, who was the first Duke of Norfolk of that family, *ob.* 1485. This portrait is now in the east window of Melford Church, and her first husband, Sir Thos. Clopton, in the window of the north aisle.

"2. Sir Wm. Howard, described in the ancient inscription as 'Cheff Justis of England.' From him the Howards of the present day are descended. This portrait has been engraved. It forms the frontispiece to the printed *Memorials of the Howards*, edited by Mr. Howard of Corly. It is now in the east window, below that of Catherine Wylde, Melford Church.

"3. Sir Thos. Clopton, Knt., of Kentwell House, Suffolk, died in 1383; grandfather of John Clopton who put up the portraits in Long Melford Church windows. He married the above Catherine Wylde.

"4. Rare portrait of Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Howard, Knt., and wife of John, twelfth Earl of Oxford. Now in the east window of Melford Church.

"5. Ann, wife of Robt. Crane, and daughter of Sir Andrew Ogard, Knt., of Buckenham, Norfolk, in her surcoat of arms. Both Ann and

her husband are kneeling together in the east window of Long Melford Church. A branch of this family resided at Blythborough, and the arms are still in a north window, but without the escallops. This Robert was a considerable contributor to the erection of the tower at Little Stonham, and their arms are still over the west door. They appear to have been buried at Stowmarket, and resided there for some considerable period. Other branches of the family also at Chilton near Sudbury.

"5. St. Felix, a Burgundian priest, brought over to Dunwyke (now Dunwich), a city of East Anglia, by the royal Sigibert. He landed at Felixstow, and proceeded to the pagan city *circa* 635, and continued in the see till March 8th, 647. Felix was buried at Dunwich; but his remains were removed to Soham in Cambridgeshire, and in King Canute's reign were removed to Ramsey, where his ashes were enshrined with great splendour, and his name canonised as the first saint of the eastern part of England. Felix and Sigibert founded schools at Dunwich, and from this infant establishment the University of Cambridge, according to Beda, afterwards sprouted. From Ranworth screen, Norfolk.

"6. Blessed Virgin Mary and Child from the rood-screen, Walpole St. Peter's, Norfolk.

"7. St. Gudula, V., A.D. 712, holding a lantern. Walpole St. Peter's.

"8. The Almighty directing our first parents to the tree of knowledge; and the 'Temptation.' Martham Church, Norfolk.

"9. The angel of God holding a sword; Adam and Eve fleeing from Paradise. Martham.

"10. Ruins of an ancient chapel upon a hill east of Bures village, the evident site of the coronation of St. Edmund, now used as a cattle-shed.

"11. Martyrdom of St. Edmund, a mural painting in the nave of Stow Bardolph Church, Norfolk.

"12. St. Edmund, K. M., from the Eye screen, Suffolk.

"13. The same, from the Bolton-Turf rood-screen, Norfolk.

"14. The same, from the east window, Long Melford Church, Suff.

"15. Head of St. Edmund, formerly in the windows of the Abbey at Bury St. Edmund's.

"16. Head of same, now in the east window of Herringfleet Church, Suff.; but formerly in the east window of St. Edmund's Ch., Fritton.

"17. Painted glass from the east window of Stonham, Suff., and from an old house, Southwold, Suff.

"18. Bust of St. Edmund on great door of Southwold Church.

"19. A wolf protecting the head of St. Edmund after decapitation in the Forest of Eglesdune. From a bench-head at Walpole St. Peter's Church, Norfolk."

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. E. Walford and Mr. Birch took part.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited, on behalf of the Rev. Prebendary H. M. Scarth, of Wrington, Somerset, a brass ring-dial with sliding annular gnomon, of the eighteenth century.

Mr. Birch also exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Charles Dawson of St. Leonard's-on-Sea, sketches of bronze implements or celts, and other objects, and read the following note :

"I beg to exhibit sketches of some bronze instruments which have been dug up from time to time in various places in the vicinity of St. Leonard's. The dagger-handle was found in making an excavation for garden sand near Hastings Castle. The handle is four-sided, and decorated at the edges with small knobs. In the centre of the two broadest sides are two devices, apparently of arms. There are also some figures indistinguishable, being caked with oxide, which I have not attempted to remove. Covering the remainder of the surface of the handle are small pyramidal squares. The hilt is much corroded, and appears to be ornamented with the same round bosses as the sides. The top, where the blade should be, bears traces of iron oxide. At the bottom are the remains of a broken, fixed ring. A bronze key and pendant were found near the same spot.

"The other two instruments came into my possession somewhat curiously. A workman, while doing some repairs in my house, noticing my collection of fossils, informed me that he had found, about twenty year sago, at Bopeep, near St. Leonard's-on-Sea, some very old metal something like gun-metal, while clearing away a landslip there, and he had kept them since, and had almost forgotten them. They turned out to be three bronze instruments known as celts, and a greater part of a fourth. They are thickly corroded, and are about an inch thick in the centre, thinning towards each end, and weigh about one pound apiece. There are deep grooves on the shaft on each side. They are elegantly formed in the same general design, and bear the same characteristics on both sides."

Mr. Birch also read a short communication by Dr. Alfred C. Fryer, entitled "Notes on some of the Inscriptions of Continental Bells." This will be printed, it is hoped, on a future occasion. Mr. Birch then read the following note relating to the discovery of an ancient cross :

CELTIC CROSS AT ST. TEATH'S, CORNWALL.

BY REV. T. WORTHINGTON, M.A.

An interesting archæological discovery has lately been made in this parish; a record, it is believed, of Celtic Christianity. It is a massive granite cross, a monolith, of the Greek type, 15 feet high. The head is slightly elliptic in form, the horizontal diameter being 23 inches, and

the perpendicular, 3 inches more. The arms, which project an inch or so, and widen towards the extremities, in the manner, but not to the same extent, as the Maltese cross, are raised, and united by sections of a circle; and the intervening spaces are chiseled through, not circularly, but following the lines of the arms and the sections. Both sides are alike, but one seems to have been more carefully carved and finished than the other. The shaft measures 21 ins. by 15 ins. at the base, and $13\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. beneath the fillet, immediately below the head. The angles are rounded, and deeply incised lines form borders on each face of the shaft. Three sides are filled with sculptured ornament, which is difficult, however, to decipher, except in a few small patches. The greater part of the shaft, $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft., was found split lengthways, sadly hacked and defaced, and has formed the coping of the wall, at the west entrance of the churchyard, for forty years. Two other pieces, each a foot long, were sunk in the ground as blocks for the pivots of the churchyard-gates; and a large piece comprising a portion of the lower arm of the cross, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. of the upper part of the shaft, were also sunk and socketed for the bolt. The upper part of the cross, containing, almost complete, the three remaining arms, had been worked square, to serve as a quoin for one of the side-walls. The chips hammered off in this shameless Vandalism are, it is feared, lost irrecoverably, together with the tenon of the greater part of the morticed base. This latter had also the oval shape; a small portion of it, with an angle of the mortice, being found on the original site of the cross, near by what was lately called the Dimmickom Pond, now occupied by a blacksmith's shop, to the south of the churchyard-wall, and close by the east drive to the Vicarage.

After occupying its original site for possibly over a thousand years, it was probably overthrown by the Parliamentary Commissioners as a monument of Popish superstition. Within the memory of an aged parishioner it was used as a bridge across the outlet of the pool before named. It was removed by the Rev. J. Fryer, the Vicar, into the churchyard about the year 1835. Mr. Fryer intended to restore it; but the loss of the tenon, and the fracture of the base, and the cost of repairing the latter, or procuring a new piece of granite, proved an insurmountable obstacle. In an evil moment, and in the year 1841, it was utilised in the manner described. The restoration has been undertaken by me while temporarily in charge of the parish during the absence (on account of illness) of the hardworking and enterprising Vicar, the Rev. William Rowe. It is likely to prove an expensive undertaking; but I trust I shall not be left to bear the burden alone.

Mr. Birch then read a paper by Mr. J. B. Davidson upon "Some Anglo-Saxon Charters belonging to Exeter Cathedral," illustrated by

a series of fifteen finely executed photographs of the documents, now preserved in the Exeter Museum. The paper and the texts of the charters will be printed hereafter.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Librarian*, exhibited a collection of objects from recent diggings at Preston and Hollingbury, near Brighton. These include pieces of walling of flint, 5 ft. below the surface; burnt bones; an urn of coarse ware, filled originally with bones; teeth of animals; a terra-cotta spout; shells of snails, cockles, oysters, etc.; and tiles. Mr. Wright promised an extended notice of these remains, and of the site on which they were found, upon a future occasion.

W. Henderson, Esq., exhibited an engraved patriarchal cross of brass (seventeenth century), of Spanish work, inscribed: "In pecado orig' n'ra", and "Domine memento mei", found in an armour-chest at Verona; and a gold ring set with a turquoise, from Flodden Field. Mr. Henderson also read a paper on the "Church of Ashford Carbonel in Shropshire", illustrated with a fine series of drawings indicative of the alterations in plan, windows, etc., made in this early Norman church at a very early period. The paper will be printed in a forthcoming part of the *Journal*.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A.; Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A.; Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A.; and Mr. Walford took part.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6, 1883.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., *HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.*

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library:

To the Society, for "Archæologia Æliana," vol. ix, New Series, Part 25. 1882.

„ „ for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London," vol. ix, Second Series, No. I.

To the Author, for "A short Review of the Adhesive Stamp," by Patrick Chalmers. 1883.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, laid on the table a coloured diagram and series of tracings, with a descriptive note on them, entitled "Stone Implements found in the Thames River at Reading," by Dr. Joseph Stevens. This will be printed on a future occasion.

Mr. Worthington G. Smith, F.L.S., exhibited a fine arrow-head of chipped flint, found recently at Shacklewell.

Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., exhibited a fine series of drawings of Saxon interlaced work, and of sepulchral slabs, monuments of early

work which have only recently received attention on the part of antiquaries. In the hope that further notice may be given to these and similar relics, a list of the objects is subjoined :

Coplestone Cross, North Devon.—This has already been illustrated in the *Journal* from one of the drawings now exhibited. The sketches showed the details of the remarkable interlaced work. A restoration of the head was suggested, there being a mortice-hole remaining in the top of the present shaft.

St. Andrew's Cross, now in the University Museum of that city.—This is a fine shaft covered with elaborate, interlaced work. It is engraved in Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*.

Iona.—Slab with incised Latin cross filled with delicate interlacings. Engraved in Drummond's *Sculptured Stones of the Western Highlands*.

Flotta, Orkney.—Sketches of two slabs (now in the Museum, Edinburgh) of what has been, apparently, portions of an altar-tomb. A neatly worked early Greek cross appears on the front slab, filled with interlacings.

Hartlepool.—Sketches were exhibited of the curious series of grave-stones found, in 1833 and later, on the site of an ancient Saxon monastery, now either in the Newcastle or the British Museum, one being in the Durham Cathedral Library. They are figured, for the most part, in vol. i of the Association's *Journal*.

Billingham.—A small fragment of a sepulchral slab, now in the British Museum, on which has been a Latin cross with the Alpha and Omega, similar to one of the Hartlepool examples.

Ipswich.—Sketches were shown of various Saxon sculptures found in 1848, during the restoration of St. Nicholas' Church; now preserved, for the most part, in the north wall of the building. Several of these have fragments of inscriptions remaining, with rude representations of figures. The best known is the sculptured tympanum of a semicircular-headed doorway, which has been engraved. Others have formed portion of an arcade of semicircular arches enclosing full length figures.

Clapton Church, co. Northt.—Part of the shaft of a Saxon cross with interlaced work, re-used as one of the stones of the chancel-arch destroyed in 1862. Portion of a Norman zigzag ornament had been carved on the face when re-worked for use in the arch.

Chester-le-Street.—Portion of the shaft of a cross with interlacings, found during the clearing out of the old sedilia of the church, which had been filled up and covered over. The four faces of the stone are carved, there being a cable-pattern at the angles.

Desborough, co. Northt.—Sketches of three remarkable slabs now in the Parsonage garden. They are of small size, and covered with minute carvings of conventional animals and interlacings.

Stowe Nine Churches.—Portion of the shaft of a Saxon cross with elaborate interlacings or foliage on three of the sides, found in the church during the repairs in 1860. Also fragment of a slab of stone with interlacings, probably portion of a font.

Mears Ashby.—The head of a cross of circular form, pierced with four holes beneath the arms of the cross, covered with interlacings of elegant design. Found during the repair of the church.

St. Peter's, Northampton.—In two cases the bases of the Norman responds have been worked in stones formerly portions of the shafts of Saxon crosses, the backs still retaining elaborate interlaced patterns. These were found during the works of 1850, and they are now in the Northampton Museum. They have been described in the *Reports of the Archæological Society of Northampton*, vol. i, p. 82.

In an office near St. Peter's is a remarkable slab carved in a spirited manner with grotesque figures. The date is twelfth century, some of the ornaments of the Norman church being repeated on it.

Monkwearmouth.—Sketches of the base of an early pyramid with figures in flat, low relief, with a Runic inscription, now in the British Museum. Figured in Professor Stephens' *Runic Monuments*.

Hauill Hacknell Church, Derbyshire.—Sketch of the quaint figures forming the tympanum of a semicircular door.

Middlesmoor Church, Yorkshire.—Portion of the head of an early cross with sunk patterns of poor design.

Gosforth Cross, Cumberland.—Elevations of the sides of this remarkable and beautiful cross.

Water-colour drawings of the Saxon crosses at Eyam and at Bake-well were also exhibited.

It was apparent, by examination of the sketches, that several of these objects were of earlier date than others; but the same general style was apparent in all. The Monkwearmouth example has been portion of a pyramid, doubtless of sepulchral import, in singular confirmation of the references to such monuments in Saxon histories. The publication of references to all the remains of early Saxon art, revealed for the most part, by modern research, is still a great archæological want.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Librarian*, and Mr. E. Walford, M.A., made some remarks upon the beauty and excellence of these drawings, and of the importance of preserving *in situ* the original relics from which they were derived. Although it is difficult, with our present knowledge of these interlaced patterns, to found any theory with relation to an exact date, yet the comparison of them with cognate patterns upon Roman mosaic pavements and MSS. of the so-called Irish style, will afford considerable data on which to construct a system explanatory, to some degree at least, of their origin and approximate date.

Mr. G. R. Wright exhibited a drawing (coloured) of an earthen vessel with two handles, found in a cave at Malta, and forwarded for exhibition by Mr. Proctor-Burroughs of Great Yarmouth.

Mr. T. Blashill read a paper on "Dore Abbey", illustrated with many plans and drawings.

Mr. J. R. Allen read a paper on "The Calder Stones near Liverpool, with Remarks on the Representation of the Human Foot on Stones, etc.," also illustrated with drawings.

Mr. Wilding read a paper on "The Library of Chained Books at Chirbury," and exhibited some of the books and the chains by which they were secured.

It is hoped that these papers will be introduced hereafter into the *Journal*.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

The Pipe Roll Society, for the Publication of the Great Rolls of the Exchequer, commonly called the Pipe Rolls, and other Documents prior to the Year A.D. 1200.—Few of those who are engaged in historical researches are unacquainted with the series of the public records entitled "The Great Rolls of the Exchequer," or, as they are more commonly designated, "The Pipe Rolls." For a period of nearly half a century, at a date beyond legal memory, these enrolments stand alone in the national archives; and should any mishap occur to those that are not printed, the reigns of Henry II and Richard I would be rendered almost a blank so far as record evidence is concerned. It has long been felt that an effort should be made, without further delay, to multiply copies of at least the earliest of these unique Rolls by means of the press, and thus place the large amount of unknown historical, genealogical, and topographical material afforded by them beyond the possibility of destruction or loss. As an outcome of this feeling the Pipe Roll Society has sprung into existence.

Already, early in the present century, a scheme to print illustrative specimens of all the most important series of public documents was commenced by the late Record Commission, and continued under the direction of Lord Langdale, the first statutory Keeper of the Public

Records. Among the works issued in furtherance of this scheme were four volumes dealing with the following Pipe Rolls :

1. The Roll variously assigned by Prynne to the eighteenth year of Henry I; by Sir Simonds d'Ewes to the fifth year of King Stephen; by an old official endorsement to the first year of Henry II; and in modern days, by Hunter, its only editor, to the thirty-first year of the reign of Henry I.

2. The Rolls for the second, third, and fourth years of Henry II.

3. The Roll for the first year of Richard I.

4. The Roll for the third year of King John. This was printed from the Chancellor's antigraph.

These Rolls are carefully facsimiled in record type, and are the only ones that have hitherto been made public in their entirety. Thus it will be observed that a very wide gap exists in these Record publications, and it will be the primary object of the Pipe Roll Society to fill up this chasm between A.D. 1157 and A.D. 1189. This can be readily carried out by printing the thirty Rolls (in almost perfect condition) which are still extant for the period. The excellence of the Record editions of the Pipe Rolls cannot be over-rated; and it is proposed by the Committee of the Pipe Roll Society to follow the original design of the Record Commission in every particular, in the hope that with close attention to minute details the Rolls to be issued in the future may come up to the high standard of excellence illustrated in these publications.

The works of the Record Commission are not to be obtained now without much difficulty, the issue having been limited, and the demand for them of late years very great. For the information, therefore, of those not possessing copies of the Pipe Rolls already printed, or who, indeed, may never have seen them, it will be as well to explain that in these editions nothing is essayed to be produced beyond what actually appears upon the Rolls. It was assumed that those who consulted them would be sufficiently acquainted with the abbreviations which occur in these Records to enable them to read their contents with facility. This, however, is found in practice to be not always the case, and to assist the uninitiated in mastering the contractions, the Society intends to issue an explanatory list of all the abbreviations commonly used in the early Pipe Rolls, so that every reader will be in a position to extend with ease and certainty all ordinary passages in these Rolls. In addition to this, any information that can be supplied with regard to obscure or doubtful portions of the text will appear in foot-notes, or be added in the Appendix; but no notes beyond those absolutely required by the exigencies of the manuscript will be allowed in the Society's publications.

It is more particularly with the remote period of Henry II that the

Pipe Roll Society proposes to deal. Broadly speaking, the Society's scheme includes all unprinted national records that are extant prior to the year 1200. Unfortunately, the solitary class of Pipe Rolls practically represents this period; but the very limited number of odd membranes of the class known as the *Rotuli Curie Regis*, of the reign of Richard I, will form a valuable supplement to our information with regard to this dark period of history; and the publication of these and a few other early odds and ends may very appropriately terminate the labours of the Society. The members of the Pipe Roll Society will then have the satisfaction of knowing that they have made accessible to the historical student every scrap of manuscript material extant in the Public Record Office to the end of the twelfth century.

From the preceding statement it will be seen that the work which the Society will undertake is strictly limited in scope; and should it receive the support which, taking into consideration the great value of the material now to be made public for the first time, may reasonably be looked for, the project should certainly be completed within quite a reasonable period. There is, therefore, every probability that for a very moderate number of annual subscriptions, members will be able to place on their shelves the finished result of this scheme; and they will, moreover, provide themselves not only with a series of most instructive volumes, but with an investment which will certainly become of permanent and increasing value.

The subscription to the Society is one guinea per annum. Honorary Treasurer, Walford D. Selby, Esq., Public Record Office, Fetter Lane, E.C. For this sum members will receive, if the subscriptions are fairly numerous, at least two volumes annually; but the number of volumes issued must, of course, be regulated by the funds subscribed. No volumes for the year will be delivered until the subscription has been paid. Applications for admission to the Society should be addressed to James Greenstreet, Esq., Honorary Secretary, 16 Montpelier Road, Peckham, S.E. The Rolls to be taken in hand at once, and which it is hoped to issue before the end of the year ending May 1884, are those for the fifth and sixth years of Henry II.

Ancient Scottish Lake Dwellings or Crannogs, with a supplementary chapter on remains of lake-dwellings in England. By ROBERT MUNRO, M.A., M.D., F.S.A.Scot. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1882. Quarto, pp. 325; 264 woodcuts and 4 plates.—Although a certain amount of information on the lake-dwellings of this country is to be found buried in the transactions of some of our learned societies, there has until now been no book on the subject, treating of it as a whole, accessible to the general public. It is therefore with pleasure that we welcome the volume now under review, which, as the author, Dr. Munro, says

in his preface, "aims at comprising all that is actually known of ancient British Lake-Dwellings up to the present time."

The introductory chapter gives a brief sketch of the first discoveries of lacustrine habitations in Europe, from which it appears that Sir R. Wilde called attention to a crannog at Lagore, Co. Meath, Ireland, as early as the year 1839. This set the Continental archæologists on the alert, and in 1853, owing to the low state of the water of the lake of Zurich in Switzerland, the heads of the piles of a settlement which had previously existed on its shores at Ober Meilen were revealed. Dr. Ferdinand Keller took up the matter with energy, and his investigations were amply rewarded, as is now well known. It was not, however, until 1857 that lake dwellings were proved to exist in Scotland, when Mr. Joseph Robertson brought the matter before the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh. Between the years 1857 and 1878, a large number of fresh examples were brought to light in different parts of Scotland, and Chap. II is devoted to historical and descriptive notices of them, chiefly gleaned from the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland. Dr. Munro concludes this chapter with the following remarks: "From this sketch it will be seen that, during the interval between the publication of Dr. Stuart's paper in 1866, and the discovery of the Lochlee crannog in 1878, if we except the occasional discovery of a new site, little has been done by way of furthering the systematic exploration of their widely scattered remains. With the formation, however, of the Ayrshire and Wigtownshire Archæological Association, a new epoch in antiquarian research may be said to have dawned on the south-west of Scotland. One of the features of this Association is the prominence given to *practical explorations* as a means of investigating the pre-historic remains of the district, the beneficial result of which may be estimated by the fact, that, with a trifling exception, all the discoveries recorded and illustrated in the following pages, are due to its inspiration, and have actually appeared in the first instance in its publications."

Chapters III and IV, which are the best in the book, and contain nearly all the illustrations, deal with the excavations carried out at the crannogs of Lochlee, Friar's Carse, Lochspouts, Barhapple, and Buston. These important investigations took place under Dr. Munro's immediate supervision, and are described with a minuteness and scientific accuracy which leaves but little to be desired. The heading of chapter V is "General observations on the classification, geographical distribution, structure, and age of ancient Scottish lake dwellings."

The sixth and last chapter gives a short account of lake dwellings in England.

Having thus briefly glanced at the contents of the volume before us, we will proceed to discuss some of the points which appear to us to be

of the greatest interest, although in a short notice like the present one it can only be done in a most cursory manner. Of the woodcuts, those to which the reader's attention may be most closely directed, illustrate the discoveries at the Lochlee Crannog. Fig. 35 shows the general appearance of the forests of piles which are disclosed in the operation of trenching the ground. Fig. 36 shows the method of mortising the horizontal beams to the pile-heads. Figs. 149 and 150 show the back and front of what Dr. Munro thinks is "perhaps the most interesting of all the relics discovered on the crannog." It is a piece of ash-wood, 5 inches square, carved on both sides with spiral devices similar to the ornamentation of bronze objects of the late Celtic type, and the volute patterns of the Irish MSS., such as *The Book of Kells*.

The objects dug up are very numerous, and vary in date from the neolithic flint-scraper to the three-legged bronze pot of the sixteenth century; but some of the relics are curious, such as the cup-marked stone (p. 108) and the bronze ring-pin (p. 130) bearing the *swastica* or "fylfot" cross. As indicative of date, we have a Saxon coin and Samian ware. Canoes are of frequent occurrence, and indicate one mode of approach to the lake-dwelling, although causeways and bridges seem also to have been used in some cases.

On p. 245 will be found a tabular statement of the distribution of Scottish lake-dwellings; and on p. 262 a most interesting description of the structure of the crannog or fortified island. Dr. Munro traces the moated mediæval castle as the lineal descendant of the crannog, masonry being substituted for wood on account of the liability of the latter to catch fire; and it "being found easier and better to conduct the water to the stronghold than to construct the stronghold in a natural basin of water, however convenient its locality might be." There can also be little doubt that the modern system of coffer-dams for bridge-piers has been the outcome of the crannog. The intermediate stage of development may be seen in drawings of the piers of old London Bridge, whose construction was almost identical with that of an artificial island.

In conclusion we must congratulate Dr. Munro in having produced a readable book on a most interesting branch of archæology, without the sacrifice of scientific accuracy, and without launching out into those wild speculations, unsupported by facts, which have brought so many antiquaries into deserved contempt. The general get-up of the work, which in appearance and size forms a companion volume to the volumes of *Rhind Lectures*, will help to increase the already high reputation of Mr. David Douglas, the publisher.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

SEPTEMBER 1883.

ON A GROUP OF PREHISTORIC REMAINS ON DARTMOOR.

BY FRANCIS BRENT, ESQ.

(*Read at Plymouth, Aug. 1882.*)

THE prehistoric monuments on Dartmoor are fast disappearing, and in a few years the very existence of some of them will be forgotten. It may, therefore, be pardonable if I endeavour to give some account of an interesting group of remains that soon may be entirely lost. The inroads of civilisation are making rapid strides, the slopes of our hills are being cleared of stones, and brought under the hands of man, whilst little regard is paid to ancient monuments by our grass-farmers or agriculturists.

There are few amongst us who have been wont to take our rambles on Dartmoor, but must have missed, from time to time, some interesting relic: now the capstone of a cromlech has been split by the quarryman for the purposes of his work; now a hut-circle or the wall of a pound has been ruthlessly destroyed for the sake of the stones composing it. "The Ancient Monuments Bill" may serve to protect such erections as Stonehenge or Avebury; but, unfortunately, none of our Dartmoor relics are scheduled for preservation; and it is greatly to be regretted that the fine cromlechs of Cornwall do not meet with the consideration that is shown for Kit's Coity House, near Maidstone, in Kent.

As it is not marked on the Ordnance Map, nor mentioned by Rowe in his *Perambulation of Dartmoor*, I cannot

help thinking that this group has hitherto escaped the observation of those who have made Dartmoor and its prehistoric remains their study. I have, however, had no opportunity of learning if this group was observed by Mr. Lukis, who recently examined the district; but whether his explorations extended beyond the boundary of the Forest, so as to include those to be described, I am unable to say. The Forest boundary runs over Eylesburrow, by Siward's or Nun's Cross, to Prince Town, and is about a mile to the eastward of Down Tor, where this group is situated.

At the foot of Eylesburrow, on its western side, rises a small stream, which after a circuitous route through a rocky district that has been most extensively streambed for tin in ancient times, finds its way into the Meavy, to the north of Sheep's Tor. This little stream shuts in a moorland district which is known as Down Tor. To the north is a rough road, which, passing by Clacywell Pool, is eventually lost in a moorland track leading to Fox-Tor Mire or Nun's Cross.

On Down Tor Moor are several barrows, most of which appear to have been opened. These, together with indications of extensive stream-workings, tend to show that the district was formerly largely inhabited. The first feature in the group is a circle of twenty earth-fast stones, the diameter of which is 40 feet. These stones are interspersed with seventeen others of a smaller size, so close together as, in some places, almost to form a wall. Many of the stones are not more than 2 feet high, whilst some of them are considerably larger. Within this outer circle is an immense heap of loose stones, forming a huge barrow, the summit of which is cup-shaped or hollow, within which are stones that may have formed a kistvaen. The outer circle does not touch the inner barrow, from which it is clear and distinct.

Running about east-north-east from this circle is a line of upright stones, the first two of which are of great size; one being 13 feet in length, the other 10. These two, however, are now prostrate, the larger one upon the smaller, although they once stood, like two menhirs, at the commencement of the track. Next to these is a large stone, 5 feet 10 inches in length, also prostrate; and con-

tinuing from these, the line, consisting of one hundred and twenty stones, runs without interruption for about 750 feet, and then continues for 960 feet further, with much greater intervals between the stones, until it reaches a large mound of stones piled loosely together, and forming a heap, the diameter of which is about 37 feet. This long line of stones is imperfect at the latter portion, owing either to the stones having been removed or having sunk into the peaty moorland. Still it can be here and there most unmistakeably traced up to the pile of stones at the north-east end.

This great mass, which may rise about 8 feet in its highest part, is roughly circular, except that at its west end the stones are extended so as to form wings or flanges, which run out on each side of the line of stones. The centre of the heap is depressed, and appears to have been at one time a large chamber, the sides of which, where seen, are nearly perpendicular. In the outer mass or wall are numerous depressions, as if they were formerly small chambers, the roofs of which had fallen in: these hollows do not form a continuous ring, but are irregular not only in size, but also in relative position to one another. To the north of the eastern part of the track-line is a large circular pound, somewhat irregular in outline, the diameter of which is about 150 feet. Within the cincture is a barrow, closely adjoining the wall; whilst to the north-east, at what appears to be the entrance, is a large standing-stone of somewhat of a gnomon or dial-pin form, too massive to have been the post of a doorway, but placed in its position evidently for some purpose, and perhaps forming the headstone of a small barrow, which adjoins the wall of the pound. There is a similar flat upright stone at Grimspond. Within the pound are what appear to me to be traces of at least two smaller circles, although my friend, Mr. C. W. Dymond, holds a different opinion; the stones which I take to form the circles are certainly very irregular, and may possibly be only the ordinary moor-stones. Outside of the pound is an enormous prostrate stone, 15 feet long by 5 feet broad at its widest part, and now partly buried in the soil. I think this has been erect and has had a circle of stones surrounding it; but this admits

of some doubt. To the southward of the track-line is a large rock, shaped like a wedge, or like a slice cut from a huge cheese. This is placed on a foundation of small stones, and appears to have been artificially so placed. Not far from this is a very perfect circle, which is either a cup-barrow, or a hut-circle, probably the former, as it presents no appearance of an entrance or doorway. Near the south-west end of the track-line are two large rounded rocks, equidistant from the row, one on each side, and looking as if artificially so placed; still they may be in their natural position, having been too massive to move when the moor was cleared of the surface-stones to form the barrows, circles, and track-lines.

We have then a large circle of earth-fast stones, in the centre of which is a cup-barrow, connected by means of a track-line of upright stones 1,710 feet long, with a cluster of depressions or chambers in a huge heap of unwrought stones from the moor, and near to these a pound or enclosure, containing barrows, and possibly circles. Such a peculiar collection of remains does not appear to have been recorded as existing on Dartmoor; for although we have each portion, represented more than once in different parts of the moor, nowhere else is the complete series to be found. At Merivale Bridge we have double paralleloliths,—a sacred circle, a menhir, a cromlech, and hut-circles. On White Tor the summit has been guarded with a wall of stones, within which, on one side, is a cluster of small chambers, and in the centre is a natural rock, round which is a clustered heap. On Cocks Tor the arrangement is similar. On Bron Gilly in Cornwall are, or rather were,—for one has been entirely removed within the last few years,—five “Kings’ graves”, as they are called by the country people, which consist of similar huge heaps of stones, having each a large chamber in the centre, and the smaller ones clustered in the substance of the wall. One of these has, in addition, the projecting wings or flanges that are attached to the heap on Down Tor; and at Ditsworthy are barrows from which track-lines (one partly double) lead to huge prostrate menhirs, one of which is 18 feet long; and in the immediate vicinity of these is an enormous cup-shaped barrow. At the head of Awns and Dendles, under Pen

Beacon, is an interesting collection of remains, consisting of a large enclosure, containing some perfect hut-circles, some prostrate menhirs, and a logan, whose estimated weight is nearly 5 tons, which can still be easily moved. These I had hoped to have been able to have pointed out to the members of the Association, but it was ruled otherwise.

Passing from the larger circle, the pound, and the track-line, I now wish to draw more particular attention to the large heap of stones, containing a centre chamber, round which are clustered numerous depressions or small chambers. What then is this? Can it be that we have a large ruined bee-hive hut, a sort of communal or family dwelling, in the centre of which was the day or living room, and the small chambers in the circumference the sleeping places of the family, whilst the projecting sets of stones or wings, at the south-west, were the ruined sides of the passage, through which access was obtained to the interior, after the manner observed by the Esquimaux in their summer-huts, or the older peoples of pre-historic times.

I must, however, admit that I could in no way trace any communication between the larger and smaller chambers, nor from the exterior to these, but the ruined state of the whole would preclude this from being done; and without completely clearing out the fallen stones this could scarcely be observed.

It may be objected that the smaller depressions are not sufficiently large even for sleeping-places; but if they were cleared of fallen debris, and restored to their original state, many of them would be more than 6 feet square; and it is mentioned that an ancient bee-hive hut,¹ or *bôh*, containing two rooms, one 6 feet by 6, and a larger one measuring 6 feet by 9, found in the island of Lewis at Uig, was still used as a dwelling by three young women, even in the present day. This hut, looking like two small hillocks joined together, was not the height of a man; the living-room was about 6 feet high in the centre, whilst in the dairy, in no part was it possible to stand upright. The doorway connecting the two rooms was so small that it could be passed through only by

¹ *The Past in the Present*, by Dr. Mitchell, pp. 58, 60.

creeping, whilst the outer hole, by which access was obtained to the interior, was 3 feet high by 2 feet wide : bed places were partitioned off, and the smoke escaped through an aperture in the roof, which could be covered over by a sod or stone ; and yet in this diminutive little dwelling three persons lived and slept, and performed their daily avocations.

It would scarcely be possible now to clear out this little cluster, as the whole has fallen together in one ruinous heap, but the resemblance is so strong to the clusters of huts that have been observed in the Hebrides, and carefully described, and also in West Cornwall, at Chysoister, and elsewhere, that those on Dartmoor are worthy of more consideration than has hitherto been accorded them—especially as in the adjoining county they have been somewhat fruitful of relics.

No relics of any kind, either of stone or of metal, have been found near the remains I have been describing ; but on White Tor, where a similar cluster of depressions exists, I have found, in turning over the mole-hills within the fortified circle, a considerable number of flakes, scrapers, and fragments of dark-coloured flint ; but from the nature of the thick turf that fills the enclosure on White Tor, no systematic examination of the subsoil has been possible with the appliances that have been available ; although I have little doubt that could the turf be turned over, and the soil examined, the labour of such an examination would be amply rewarded.

THE CHURCH OF ASHFORD CARBONEL.

BY W. HENDERSON, ESQ.

(Read May 16, 1883.)

THE parish church of Ashford Carbonel, dedicated to St. Mary, is situated about three miles from Ludlow. It stands on rising ground at the outskirts of the village, and its churchyard commands an extensive and varied view over a beautiful and undulating country thickly studded with trees of large size. In the churchyard are five venerable yews. Tradition assigns them an age of 1,500 years. This is possibly an exaggeration; but there can be little doubt that they possess an antiquity of something like 800 or 1000 years. I have noticed that in nearly all the churchyards attached to the many ancient churches within a radius of a dozen miles or more around Ashford Carbonel, there are yews of apparently the same age as the churches themselves.

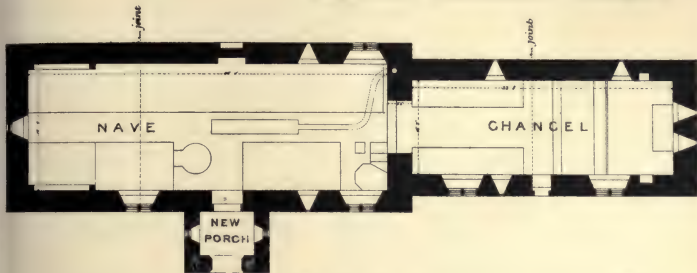
It is now nearly six years since I went to reside in the parish of Ashford Carbonel. On my first visit to the church I was much pleased to find examples of the several generally accepted styles of ecclesiastical architecture, and also to notice some special features which marked its remote antiquity. The church had been much neglected, and its walls had long been covered with plaster and whitewash, both internally and externally. I made many inquiries as to whether anything was known of its past history, but without success. Nor is this to be wondered at when we consider how frequently the neighbouring monasteries were burnt or plundered by the Welsh in their fierce invasions; and their records and cartularies, which might have thrown some light upon it, it is needless to say, perished with them. Eyton, in his *History of Shropshire*, has only the following meagre notice: "Ashford Carbonel and the village of Huntingdon were originally in the Herefordshire parish of Little Hereford. The church (now a perpetual curacy annexed to the vicarage of Little Hereford) was, doubtless, founded as a chapel,

and in strict subjection to the mother church. The date of such foundation I can by no means indicate. The non-mention of the chapel in records of the thirteenth century is by no means conclusive as to its non-existence at that or an earlier period." Eyton thus leaves us without any information or suggestion as to the date of the erection.

In this dilemma I sought to remedy the want of written records by noting down my own views respecting the various features of the church, and I was led to entertain an idea that it must have been erected either in the reign of Edward the Confessor or that of William the Conqueror. Most probably the former. These notes I sent to my friend the Rev. Canon Ornsby of Fishlake, the well known archæologist, and author of a work called *Sketches of Durham, Illustrating the Cathedral and Castle of that City*. He has also written the diocesan history of York, and has edited several of the Surtees Society Publications. Canon Ornsby was so much interested with my written description that he came to Shropshire on purpose to see the church, and examine for himself. The result was the compilation of a Report, which at my request he addressed to the then Vicar, the Rev. Augustus Gurney, from which I will presently read some extracts. I next induced the well known architect and archæologist, Mr. Philip C. Hardwick, to inspect the church; and it was satisfactory to find that he thoroughly endorsed the views which Canon Ornsby had been led to form. Shortly afterwards Sir John R. Mowbray, whilst on a visit to me, also inspected the church, and was much impressed with the desirability of its restoration, and at once undertook, on the part of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (who are the possessors of the great tithes), that that body should thoroughly restore the chancel, if the parishioners would do a like work in the nave to the satisfaction of their architect, Mr. Ewan Christian.

Let me now give an extract from Canon Ornsby's Report: "Small as the church is, and devoid of anything approaching to architectural beauty, no little interest attaches to it nevertheless, by reason of the great antiquity of the main portions of the building, which may possibly be anterior to the Norman conquest. It is true that no church is mentioned in *Domesday* under the head of

ASHFORD CARBONEL CHURCH.



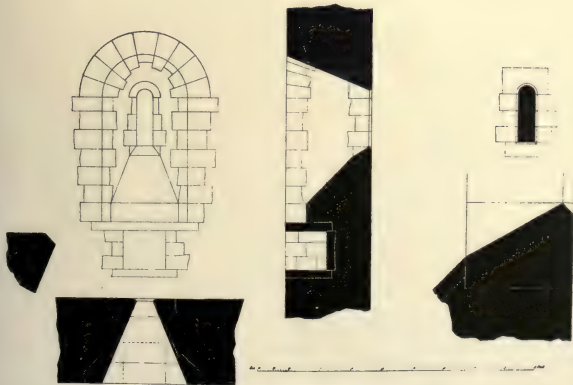
GROUND PLAN.



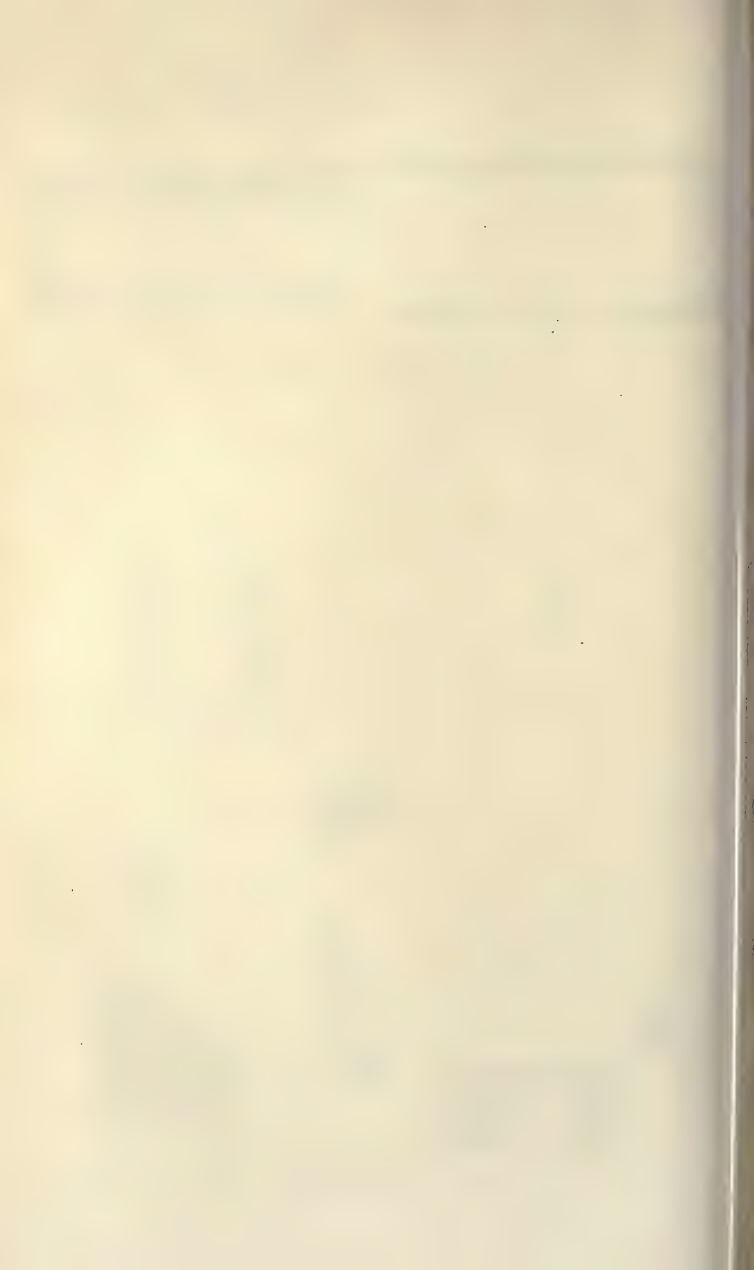
EAST END OF CHANCEL.
PRIOR TO RESTORATION.



SECTION OF CHANCEL.
PRIOR TO RESTORATION.



DETAILS OF NORMAN WINDOWS.



Esseford or Ashford ; but this is by no means conclusive as to its non-existence. Many parishes in different counties of England, which are well known to have had churches in Anglo-Saxon times, are undistinguished in the Conqueror's Survey by the mention of any sacred building. The date of that part of *Domesday* which relates to Shropshire is ascertained from the mention of the Abbey of Shrewsbury. Ordericus Vitalis says that the foundation of this Abbey was so named by Roger de Montgomery in 1083. It was building at the time of the Survey ('quam facit ibi comes'), and it was finished in 1087. Now it cannot be doubted that the earliest features of Ashford Carbonel Church are anterior to the period when the survey of Shropshire was made. If the structure is not Anglo-Saxon, it is at all events of the very earliest Norman. The north and south doorways and the chancel-arch are coeval, or very nearly so. The latter is narrow in proportion to the width of the chancel, as the Anglo-Saxon and early Norman chancel-arches usually were. Its arch is semicircular, and quite plain, rising from a square abacus, with a plain chamfer under it. The jambs are perfectly plain. The south doorway retains only its jambs and abaci, and ought to have a new arch of suitable character. The north door is perfect. Its external arch possesses a somewhat peculiar nail-head ornament ; the upper part of each nail-head being plain, the lower portion slightly concave. A similar ornament occurs in the Old Hospital Chapel at Ludford, on the piscina, which, it is said, was pronounced by the late Sir G. G. Scott to be Anglo-Saxon, and a valuable example. Two windows belonging to the period when the structure was erected yet remain. They are on the north side of the chancel. They are short, and very narrow, round-headed openings, with wide internal splays, in a wall of very considerable thickness. At the west end is a single Early English lancet window, the lower part of which has been lengthened for the sake of obtaining additional light at the west end of the nave, under the gallery. The rest of the original windows have been replaced by Decorated ones. The heads of two of these are pointed, the others square-headed. That at the east end of the chancel has evidently replaced an Early Eng-

lish lancet, which appears to have been the only light at that end. A triplet over the altar was the usual arrangement in the Early English period ; but the external masonry shows no traces of this. All the old Decorated windows should be retained. The oldest existing part of the nave-roof is Jacobean. Four hammer-beams of this date remain, showing what its character has been. These might be retained, and a new roof, carrying out the same design, would much enhance the internal effect, if funds admitted of such a restoration. The bell-turret is supported by a very strong framework of oak timber, which may probably date from the sixteenth century. The super-structure, where the bells are hung, is merely a frame of lath and plaster, probably not more than a century and a half old. I am disposed to think that the original super-structure has been timber-work of similar character to that of many old houses in the neighbourhood (such as, *e. g.*, the Feathers Inn at Ludlow, and others), terminating with a short spire, covered, in all probability, with shingles. A bell-turret of this description would form a very picturesque addition to the church externally, and the old framework below might then be retained without any alteration whatever. In the course of any restoration which may take place, the gallery will probably be taken down. In this case I should recommend that the lancet window at the west end should be reduced to its original proportion. To gain more light at the west end of the nave, a Decorated window of similar character to those on the north and south sides of that part of the building might be advantageously inserted in the south-western wall."

This Report clearly explains the appearance of the church ; and wishing that in any restoration the people might have the advantage of free and open sittings, I submitted it to the Bishop of Hereford, and obtained his Lordship's sanction to a scheme which I then laid before him. With the approval of the Rev. J. Selwood Tanner, the Vicar, a meeting of the parishioners was held on the 28th of October 1881, when I offered to replace the square pews with oak benches having handsome carved ends, place a dado (formed of the old oak pew-doors) round the walls of the nave, insert an additional

Decorated window in the nave, restore the font with handsome pedestal and base, replaster the walls, and execute some lesser works in the nave ; stipulating only that the seats should be free and open, and that the parishioners, on their part, should put the floor and roof of the nave into good condition, should supply a handsome carved oak pulpit, rebuild the porch, and repair the tower, etc. I further stipulated that great care should be taken whilst removing the plaster from the ashlar-work of the chancel-arch and window-jambs, so as to preserve any mason's tool-marks that might exist; and that not a single old stone in any part of the church should be replaced by a new one, if it were possible to retain the former.

All this was agreed to, and I may here remark that the hidden ashlar stones of the original building were found to have a great number of *ordinary* tool-marks deeply indented on them, as if but newly dressed, the thick coat of plaster having preserved these cuttings. The restoration was commenced in the early part of the summer of last year, and the financial difficulty was much relieved by a very large gift from Miss Hall, the chief landed proprietor in the parish, which was promptly responded to by many other liberal donations.

The removal of the plaster from the interior of the church brought to light several important features in its history. The first of these was that the chancel was found to be double its original length, and the nave also had been extended to one-third more than its first proportions. These changes were made evident by clearly defined vertical lines from the wall plates to the floor, showing where the junctions had been made, and also by the distinctly different masonry of the walls. The foundations of the original walls are very shallow, the upper stones of the substructure being irregular cubes laid horizontally, while the stones beneath them are oblong, and placed in a vertical position like a row of stone posts. These foundations are only 1 foot beneath the surface. The extended portion of the walls of both chancel and nave are, on the contrary, entirely formed of stones laid horizontally, and they reach about 3 feet below the surface. (See accompanying plan.)

The removal of the plaster also brought to light one early window on the south wall of the chancel, a few feet from the chancel arch, and precisely opposite to a similar early window on the north side. When the plaster was stripped off the nave, two slightly larger windows of the same character were found; one a few feet from the chancel arch on the north side, and one exactly opposite on the south side of the church. These two windows in the nave are certainly of the time of the original structure. On the sill of the arched Decorated window, on the south side of the nave, a circular piscina with fluted drains was found, indicating the existence of a chantry chapel in that part of the church.¹

Fortunately the east gable wall was not in a good state, and it was found necessary to take it down to about 6 feet from the floor, and this revealed the most interesting feature of the church. When the square-headed Decorated window was removed, two narrow lights were found, about half the stones being *in situ*. These two windows are similar in form and depth of splay to the five earlier windows already referred to. In the wall above them clear proofs were found that the stones, which had been supposed to be the head of an Early English lancet, were really part of an ancient vesica window, placed above and between the two windows below; thus completing the ordinary number of three lights at the east end. Very few stones were needed for the perfect restoration of the vesica. A drawing of the arrangement (as now seen) was sent to Mr. Parker of Oxford, who replied that he believed it to be unique in England.² I learn from my friend Mr. P. C. Hardwick that he believes he has seen several such windows in the north-west of France, beyond Caen; and perhaps a conjecture may not improperly be ventured as to the introduction of this vesica window into the church of Ashford Carbonel.

If we look to the early history of the estate of Ashford

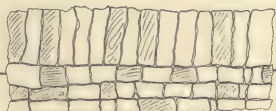
¹ In the north and south walls of the sanctuary there are an aumbry and credence-shelf.

² This, I believe, is true so far as the combination of a vesica with Anglo-Saxon windows; but I have one instance where it is combined with Early English lancets. I refer to the church of All Saints at Skelton, not far from York.

ASHFORD CARBONEL CHURCH.



SECTION OF WALLING.



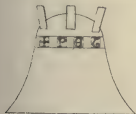
SECTION OF WALLING.



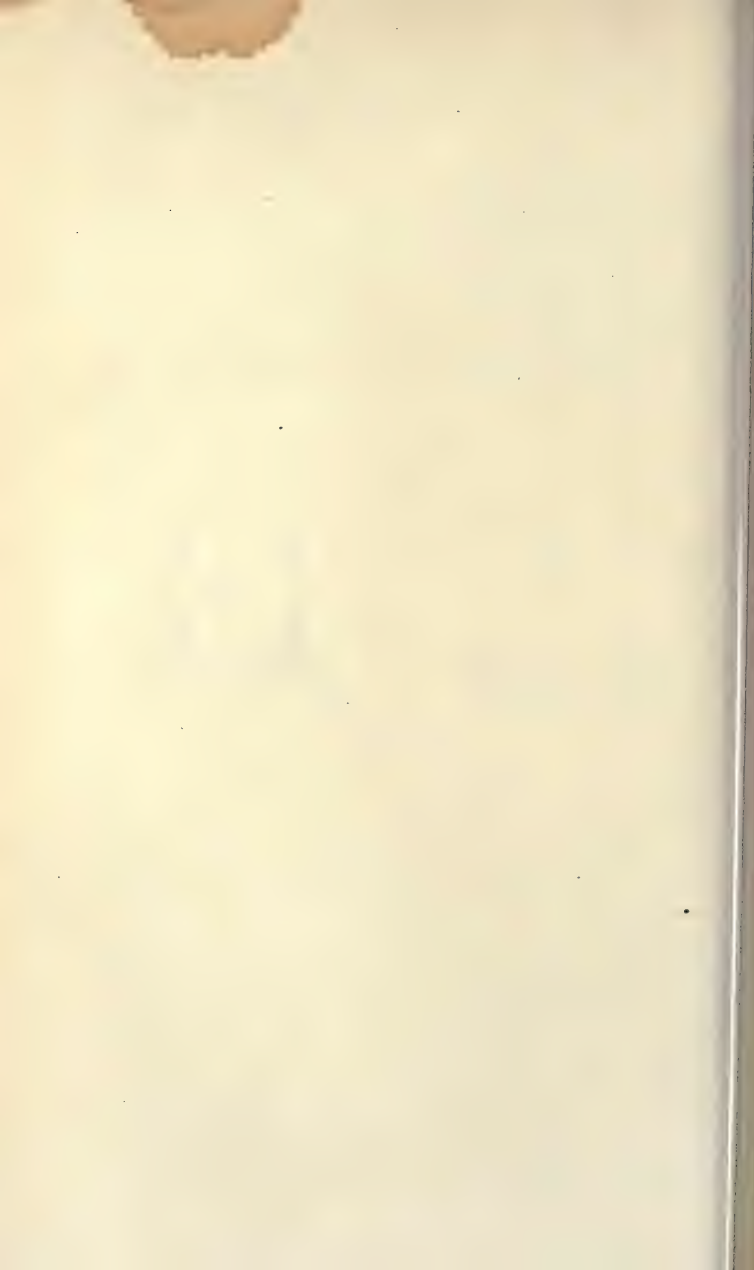
EAST END OF CHANCEL.
WITH DISCOVERED WINDOWS.



SECTION THROUGH CHANCEL.



INSCRIPTIONS ON THE BELLS.



Carbonel, we find that it was given to William Carbonel somewhere between 1140 and 1185 by Osborn Fitz Hugh, who was at that time the lord of the adjacent fortress called Richard's Castle. If, again, we are right in supposing that the extension of the choir was made about 100 years after the erection of the church, and that the original church was erected (as I have ventured to assume) in the time of Edward the Confessor, we bring the date of the extension of the chancel to the time when the church and the surrounding lands were given to the Norman family of Carbonel or De Carbonel. If this be admitted, what is more probable than that this Norman family, whilst enlarging and improving their church, should seek to incorporate so marked a feature of the architecture of their own country as the vesica window? By transferring the original Anglo-Saxon windows of the chancel to the east-end, when lengthened, and then placing a vesica window above them, they completed the unique and beautiful arrangement as we now find it.

The mason in charge of the restoration (a very intelligent man), is strongly of opinion that the lengthening of the nave is of much later date than that of the chancel; and this, of course, accounts for the architecture of the extended west-end being in the Early English style.

To return to my account of the recent restoration, the lath and plaster has been removed from the outside walls of the bell-turret, which are now covered with oak louvre-boards, whilst the roof of the same has been covered with oak shingles, and is surmounted by a goodly weathercock.

I submit drawings of the three ancient bells and inscriptions. The gallery, which had no pretension to antiquity or beauty, has been permanently removed, and the lancet window at the west-end has been reduced to its original size, as recommended by Canon Ornsby. The nave is refitted with handsome carved oak benches, intended to be free and open to all the congregation, and a beautiful and appropriate carved oak pulpit and lectern have been added by two lady parishioners. The old oak pew doors have been utilised as a dado for the walls of the nave, and the ancient font has been placed on an

ON OLD PLYMOUTH CHINA.

BY W. H. COPE, ESQ.

(Read August 26, 1882.)

“China’s the passion of his soul :
 A cup, a plate, a dish, a bowl,
 Can kindle wishes in his breast,
 In flame with joy, or break his rest.”

THE art of making vessels and utensils of baked clay, and of decorating them by modelling and painting, has received the name of the ceramic art. The abundance of the material suitable for the production of pottery, which lies scattered over the surface of the soil; the facility of moulding soft paste into any form whatever, solely by means of the hand; and the possibility of giving it sufficient dryness and solidity by exposure to the heat of the sun; have caused the ceramic art to be one of the first practised by mankind.

Without much archæological investigation, however, it is simply obvious that this crude form of pottery would become improved by degrees, the earth would be better selected for its purpose, artificial heat would be introduced, and that the vessels might be really water-tight, some kind of glaze would be applied to the rough, porous composition. Patterns of forms have never been wanting since the first gourd or the first fruit of any kind enriched the earth, and improvements in manufacture, for utility and art, must have taken place quite naturally. Clay, from its plastic nature, lends itself to the idea of modelling, and gives scope alike to the liveliest flights of imagination and the most persevering efforts of industry. Abundant in its variety, easily procured, and consequently devoid of intrinsic worth, it derives its value solely from the elegance of form imposed upon it by the potter. On the day when man, walking on the clayey soil softened by inundations of rain, first observed that the earth retained the print of his footstep, the plastic art was discovered; and when lighting a fire to warm his limbs, or

to cook his food, he remarked that the reddened clay became sonorous, impervious, and hardened, in its new shape, the art was revealed to him of making vessels fit to contain liquids.

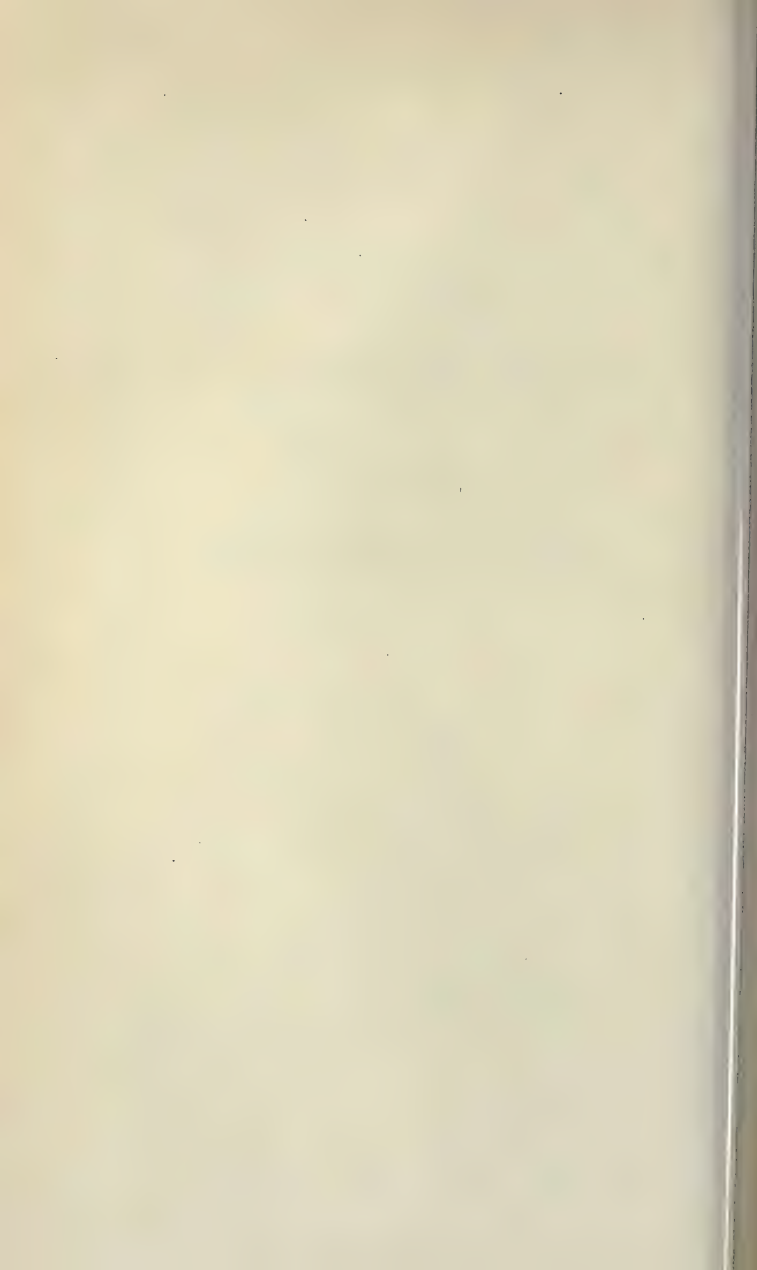
The very word antiquity suggests the Pyramids and Egypt; and from the famous old countries at the eastern end of the Mediterranean we have gathered our earliest specimens of almost every other branch of art or industry, from Egypt, Phœnicia, Assyria, Cyprus, and Asia Minor. In a rapid sketch like the present it is unnecessary to dwell long on each epoch of ceramic art. The ancient Egyptians were clever potters. The wheel employed in the time of Moses and Pharoah does not differ greatly from the one now in use, while it constitutes the earliest "machine" of which there is any record.

The existence of pottery has proved of the highest value as an aid to historical research. From the pottery of the tombs we learn the domestic manners of nations long since passed away; and may trace the geographical limits of the various great empires of the world. The extent of ancient Greece, of its colonies, and its conquests, is clearly to be traced through each division of the old world by the Grecian funereal pottery, which, distinct in its character from that of any other, long survived the political existence of the Grecian empire. The limits of the Roman empire are in like manner deduced from the remains of the Roman pottery. Beyond the spot where Arminius repulsed the Roman legions, no trace of Roman pottery has been found; and the frontier line of the Roman dominion in Britain is marked out in a similar manner. The extent of the Mahomedan empire in the old world, and the Aztec dominion in the new, would alike be clearly pointed out by their pottery, if no other record of their conquests had been transmitted to us.

The ceramic art has always been an object of royal patronage. The Chinese emperors obtained by high premiums the unrivalled manufacture of the "Eggshell" porcelain. As is well known, the Chinese were the first to make that fine kind of pottery to which the term "Porcelain" is now restricted; and the art with them seems to have reached its highest perfection about the year 1000 A.D. The Dukes of Urbino, by their liberal



PLYMOUTH CHINA SALTCELLARS.



patronage, introduced the beautiful majolica. In Holland, improvement took the less beautiful and often quaint form of Delft ware. From Henri II and Diane de Poitiers an unrivalled *faïence* derives its name; and that Prince, and his consort, Catherine de Medici, developed the genius of Palissy. Maria Theresa, Frederic the Great, and other reigning princes of Germany, both founded, and brought to perfection at their own expense, the porcelain manufacture of their respective countries. Russia owes the establishment of hers to Elizabeth and Catherine II. Charles III founded those of Capo di Monti and the Buen Retiro at Madrid. Madame Pompadour, by her influence over Louis XV, brought the porcelain of Sèvres to its unrivalled perfection; while Dubarry gave her name to the most lovely colour Sèvres has produced. In England the well known Queen Elizabeth ware was thought wonderfully fine; and though coarse enough, according to modern standards, was at least better than the Black Jack and drinking-horn which it superseded. William Duke of Cumberland supported that of Chelsea, which unfortunately was abandoned, for want of encouragement, at the death of its royal patron. Even Wedgwood, who in general courted no extraneous aid, was fain to secure a certain number of subscribers to enable him to take the copy of the Barberini Vase; while his newly invented earthenware was introduced under the patronage of Queen Charlotte, and bore her name.

All such works owed their value, not to their quality as porcelain, but to the paintings enamelled on them by Raffaele or his pupils, to the skill with which the clay had been modelled by Lucca della Robbia, or Bernard de Palissy, or to the quaint and fantastic forms given to them by the artists of Holland; and there is no saying how long a fine paste might have been wanting to enable Europe to produce porcelain rivalling that of China, had it not been for the occurrence of a lucky accident.

About a century and a half ago there was a physician at Magdeburg who devoted himself to the discovery of the philosopher's stone, and he was probably the last in the long list of alchemists. Dissatisfied with the crucibles then in use, he set about manufacturing his own, and from the experiments he was led to make he acquired a

practical knowledge of the pottery produced from common clays. It happened that the Doctor one morning found his wig unusually heavy, and on inquiry he learnt that his servant had ventured to introduce to his notice a new kind of hair powder which had come into fashion, and of which the material, instead of being expensive wheat-flour, was only a common white clay that had been well dried and finely pounded. Böttcher's crucible experiments, instantly suggested to him that the clay would make an admirable white paste for pottery, and a few trials satisfied him of the value of the discovery. By means of the fine white clay he, in fact, converted common earthenware into porcelain. Favoured by the patronage of the Duke of Saxony, he was attached to the manufactory of Meissen, from which specimens of porcelain immediately began to be issued which astonished the world of art. From this Saxon root the most famous china works in Europe gradually sprang up.

For a long time the art was kept a profound secret; and the artists were as rigidly secluded in their manufactory as ever nuns were in a convent. They were prizes—competed for by the different continental courts; and under the temptation of high bribes, some of them from time to time escaped, carrying their secret with them. Most of the early manufactories owed their origin to these runaways.

Thus, as has been observed, the last of the alchemists, though he did not succeed in finding the philosopher's stone, made a discovery hardly less valuable, by changing clay into porcelain, of which the finest specimens are worth more than their weight in gold.

Keramics have always been rightly divided into two distinct classes—pottery and porcelain. The term "Porcelain", or, as it is often called, china, should include those articles produced by an artificial mixture of certain mineral elements, known by their Chinese names of "Kaolin" and "Petuntse", or their English ones of china clay and felspar. They both result from the natural disintegration of granite, and while the former is infusible under the greatest heat, the latter is not; but unites in a state of fusion with the china clay, making a paste, which is translucent, hard, capable of bearing ex-

tremes of heat and cold, and which breaks with a smooth vitreous fracture, in which points it differs from pottery.

The word "porcelaine" has existed in the French language since the fourteenth century, consequently long before the introduction of china-ware into Europe. The word was applied formerly to the calcareous concretion which lines the interior of marine shells, which we call "mother-of-pearl". In the inventories of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, the word "porcelaine" has this signification, and certainly does not apply to porcelain in our acceptation of the term. This application was probably given to the ware by the Portuguese in the beginning of the sixteenth century, from its similarity to these marine shells, and is derived from "porcellana", a word which they apply to cowrie-shells, either because it conveyed a good idea of their milky white, glossy, and translucent appearance; or, perhaps, they may have imagined that the ware was actually made from a composition of those very shells: in fact, this was a very general impression at that time, for Edoardo Barbosa, who died in 1576, says that it was made from marine shells and egg-shells buried in the earth for eighty or a hundred years. Jerome Cardan and Scaliger both state that such was the method adopted by the Chinese. According to Chaffers, they kept the composition of porcelain a profound secret, and endeavoured to deceive foreigners by all manner of wonderful tales.

The credit of what may be justly termed the second invention of the hard porcelain, belongs to Saxony. It is true that the Portuguese merchants had, as early as the sixth century, introduced Chinese porcelain very generally into Europe; but the mode of its production was perfectly secret, and was only discovered by John Böttcher, an apothecary's assistant at Berlin, who being suspected of alchemy had fled to Saxony to elude persecution; and, his secret being deemed of importance by Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony, who has been termed the "King of China Maniacs", a manufactory was established at Meissen in 1709, when, after a number of experiments had been effected, the desired porcelain was at last produced.

The introduction of porcelain manufacture into Eng-

land appears to have been brought about by our commercial connexion with the Dutch, and also to have resulted from the persevering experiments of some of our chemists ; and we know that Cookworthy succeeded in producing porcelain from the now famous Cornwall clay, about the year 1756, and therefore this may be set down as the probable time when the industry which now forms a considerable portion of our exports was first commenced.

William Cookworthy was born at Kingsbridge, not many miles from Plymouth, on the 12th April 1705, his parents being William and Edith Cookworthy, who were Quakers. Young Cookworthy was apprenticed to a chemist in London, named Bevans ; but his mother's means being too scanty to admit of his being sent to the metropolis in any other way, he was compelled to walk there on foot. This task—no light one in those days, a hundred and fifty years ago, or now for a boy of fourteen—he successfully accomplished. His apprenticeship he appears to have passed with extreme credit ; and on its termination returned into Devonshire and commenced business in Notte Street, Plymouth, as wholesale chemist and druggist, under the name of Bevans and Cookworthy. In 1735 Cookworthy married a young Quaker lady of Somersetshire, named Berry, who lived only ten years after their marriage. Sometime after, he took his brother Philip into partnership, under the style of Cookworthy and Co. ; this arrangement enabled Cookworthy to devote his time to the scientific part of the business, and to the prosecution of his researches, while his brother took the commercial management of the concern.

In 1745, an American accidentally showed him some specimens of porcelain clay and stone which he had found in Virginia, and some ware made therefrom ; this hint probably led him to the investigation of making porcelain, and he seems to have taken up the matter thoroughly, as much interest then existed upon the subject from the discovery of the art of making hard porcelain at Dresden.

Cookworthy discovered the now well-known "China clay", answering to the Chinese "kaolin", in the burrows of an old mine near Helston in Cornwall, about the year

1755. This was sufficient for the manufacture of opaque ware, being what the Chinese call the "bones of China", but the vitrifiable material "petuntse", necessary to give firmness, lustre, and transparency, or what is graphically described in China as the "flesh", was still wanting; it was not long before a stone fulfilling all the conditions necessary to success was discovered. The ordinary moor stone was first tried; on giving a piece of it a white heat in a crucible, it melted, and the white parts of the stone were of a beautiful, glassy, semi-diaphanous white, but the black particles containing iron, burned into red spots, and it was impracticable to use it; and some time afterwards the white moor stone, or "growan stone, or pegmatite", which had the characteristics of the petuntse, was at length found near St. Austell; and Cookworthy took out his famous patent for making porcelain in 1768, for the sole making and vending of porcelain so manufactured. Cookworthy writes, "I first discovered petuntse or growan stone in the parish of Germo, in a hill called Tregonnin Hill; the whole country in depth is of this stone; it reaches east and west from Breag to Germo, and north and south from Tregonnin Hill to the sea." He says kaolin is a white talcy earth found in our granite country, in both the Counties of Devon and Cornwall, and found in inexhaustible stores.

Kaolin or china clay is prepared for the potter's use, by being subjected on an inclined plane to a constant fall of water, which washes it into a trench, whence it is conducted to a series of "catchpits" that serve to relieve the matter of impurities. The clay is then allowed to settle in tanks or ponds, and the superfluous water withdrawn by drainage. The clay is then cut into masses from nine inches to a foot square, and dried under sheltered huts, whence it is conveyed to the potteries. The finest clay procured in England is that from Cornwall, as previously mentioned; the clay used for pottery is found in Devonshire and Dorsetshire (Poole), and is of a coarser nature.

Cookworthy established his works at Coxside, at the extreme angle which juts into the water at Sutton Pool; some parts of the building still exist, now a shipwright's yard and offices, and are still known by the name of the

China House. The difficulties that were encountered by Cookworthy at every step might possibly not have embarrassed an experienced potter, for although he was a good chemist, he had, like Palissy, yet to learn the art he took up with so much enthusiasm. After some years of variable fortune, it would appear the works were not carried on with profit; and after expending several thousand pounds, it was found that Plymouth was not a suitable locality for the manufacture. Cookworthy sold his interest in the patent to Mr. Richard Champion of Bristol in 1772; in extension of his own—Champion's factory, commenced in 1768. There it was carried on under the firm of W. Cookworthy and Company till September 1773, when Champion purchased the entire interest in the patent. He had been more successful in overcoming the difficulty of managing the new materials. He was energetic, and in the full flush of youth and health, and looked forward with a hope (what age had in some measure checked in Cookworthy) to a successful issue. Lord Camelford appears to have been a partner in the undertaking with Cookworthy.

Cookworthy is remarkable for having established the first and sole manufactory of hard paste porcelain, made from native materials, in England. His undertaking was deserving of a better fate, for his zeal and exertions were indefatigable.

The early specimens are disfigured by fire cracks, warpings and blotches in the glaze, from imperfect fusion incidental to first attempts; the first paintings were also coarse and bad; but as he progressed, he succeeded in making a superior ware, and he engaged the assistance of a French artist, M. Soqui, an excellent painter and enameller, from Sèvres, whose ornamental delineations on the articles produced were extremely beautiful. Some elegant salt-cellars, in form of open conch shells resting on a bed of coral, shells, etc., all well modelled in white hard porcelain, were made here.

In a town like Plymouth, where art has always found a home, and whose sons have so greatly distinguished themselves, it is not to be wondered that the paintings and decorations on china should assume a high character for design and treatment. In a neighbourhood which has



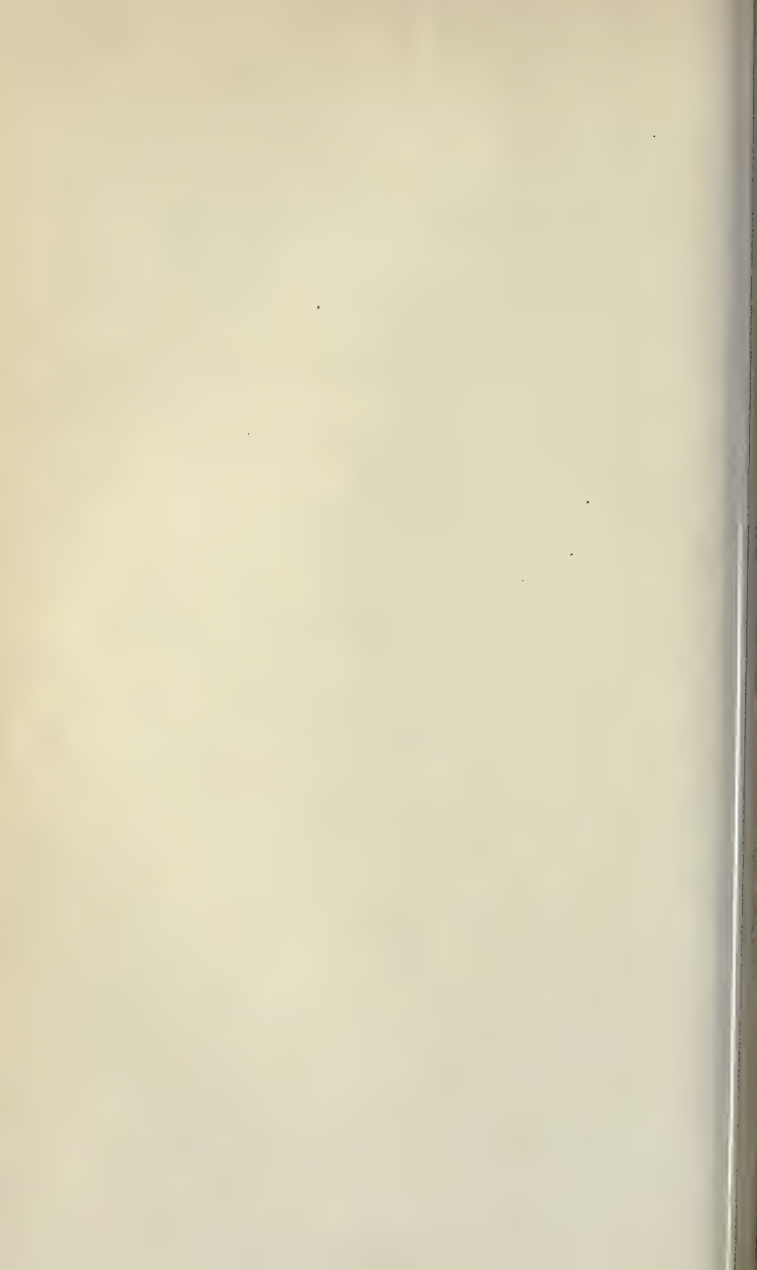
March
14
1768

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24
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24
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Mr
W Cookworthy's
Factory Plymouth
. 1770.



the honour of having given birth to Sir Joshua Reynolds, to James Northcote, to Haydon, to Sir Charles Eastlake, to Opie, to William Cook, and to a score others, it would be strange indeed if the art part of the manufacture had not been prominently good, and had not produced artists like Henry Bone, of more than local excellence.

The distinguished enameller, Henry Bone, who introduced the exotic birds which were then in vogue at Sèvres and Worcester, is known to have served his apprenticeship at these works, and no doubt painted many of the finest specimens of the ware. Bone was born at Truro in Cornwall in 1755; when twelve years old his parents removed to Plymouth, about 1767, when, in consequence of having copied a set of playing cards, Cookworthy took him into his factory. Bone completed his term of apprenticeship in 1774, and continued in the Bristol pottery until its failure in 1777, when he removed to London.

The ware made at Plymouth was allowed to be a complete porcelain, insomuch that it would bear a heat which melted china-ware placed inside it, and was of uniform texture and quality from the inner to the outer surface; it consisted chiefly of dinner and tea services, painted, some in blue and white, after the oriental,—which latter had a great sale; as well as groups of figures and animals mostly in white. The usual ornamentation of this porcelain consists of flowers, butterflies, birds, monsters in rich colours, and sometimes much gilding.

A great proportion of the china was manufactured in blue and white—the blue of a black tinge. The Plymouth china has become very scarce.

The mark upon the coloured specimens, ♃, is the astronomical sign for the planet Jupiter, and also the chemical for tin, which was adopted by Cookworthy, being a Cornishman; sometimes there is a cross under the mark. The white specimens have no mark, but are known by the crazing, an appearance somewhat resembling crackle, produced by being withdrawn from the kilns before it has been allowed to cool, or from a defect in the firing. This appearance is not infrequent on pieces of old Chelsea.

Cookworthy was a good chemist, having prepared a blue pigment direct from the ore of cobalt; but though

the materials for porcelain abounded in the neighbourhood, coal was wanting, and wood fuel could only be used, and the manufacture necessarily followed the fuel. Cookworthy was an eminent minister of the Society of Friends, a disciple of Swedenborg, and a firm believer in the virtue of the divining rod; and was highly respected for his religious and moral character.

In 1780, Cookworthy, then aged seventy-five, died in the same house in Notte Street, Plymouth, which he had occupied from the time of his first starting in life; he was interred, with every mark of respect, at Plymouth, and his memory is still warmly cherished in the locality.

Thus ended, after the brief period of nineteen or twenty years from the first discovery of the material to its close, the manufacture of porcelain in Plymouth: a manufacture which was an honour to the locality, a credit to all concerned in it, and which has given to it and to Cookworthy, its founder, an imperishable name in the ceramic annals of this country.

I am indebted for materials for this paper to the works of Lâbarte, Marryat, Chaffers, Jacquemart, and Jewitt; also to a *Guide to Collectors in China, on Pottery and Porcelain*, by F. Litchfield. 1880.

ON THE OLD TRADERS' SIGNS IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read February 7, 1883.)

ONE of the marked features in every old city, Rome and Pompeii offering no exception to the rule, were the signs displayed on the fronts of the shops of the trading community. They furnished a language which the most illiterate could read,—a commercial heraldry uncontrolled by the dons of any College of Arms,—every highway being, as it were, a vast gallery of paintings and sculptures ever open to the admiring gaze of all beholders, where art and ingenuity might be studied free of charge. Few cities probably surpassed old London in respect to the number, variety, and quaintness of its trade-signs. Heaven and Hell, earth, air, and sea, were ransacked for sign-subjects, upon which artists exhibited their skill with brush and chisel.

Many notices of the traders' signs of London have from time to time appeared in various works, and I now venture to add one more to the number, by a brief reference to those which in bygone days decorated the houses in St. Paul's Churchyard. A knowledge of these signs has been gleaned from the title-pages and colophons of old books, bill-heads, traders' tokens, and other trustworthy sources; and although the earliest authorities that I can at present cite for some of these signs, are no older than the reign of Henry VII, we may rest assured that many are of much earlier date, and were retained through several centuries by the successive occupiers of the premises. As it is now vain to strive to fix the exact position of each sign, so as to say that next to *The Three Kings* came *The Seven Stars*, and so forth, it may be well to arrange them in alphabetic order, and begin with:—

The *A*, *B*, *C*, which from 1523 to 1530 was the sign of a bookseller named Richard Faukes, whose speciality may have been horn-books, or battle-door alphabets as they were likewise called.

The Almond-Tree, during the reign of Charles II, was the sign of John Webster, as is shown by his tokens, which bear a representation of the tree on either side, surrounded by the legend, JOHN WEBSTER AT Y^e ALMON TREE IN PAVLS CHVRCHYARD. 1663.

The Angel was the sign of Andrew Wise, who in the year 1597 published Shakspeare's play of *Richard II.* As early as the year 1677 the bookselling trade was carried on here by Moses Pitt, who continued to dwell at *The Angel* as late as 1684, when he published a *Collection of Travels in the East*, by Tavernier and other great men. In 1733 *The Vindication of the Government of the Church of England* was published by S. Austen at *The Angel*.

The Angel and Crown was the sign of James Adamson in 1687, and of Robert Knaplock in 1700, both of whom were booksellers.

The Ball.—Nicholas Fussell, bookseller, dwelt here in 1627. We shall find a *Golden Ball* as we proceed in this catalogue of signs.

The Bear, over against the little north door of St. Paul's, was in 1657 the sign of the booksellers N. Webb and W. Grantham; and in 1677, of another bookseller named Blagrove. This sign may have sometimes been called *The Black Bear*, which see.

The Bell.—Robert Toy practised the art of printing under this sign from 1541 to 1551. A firm of booksellers, Messrs. Martin, Allestree, and Dicas, were here in 1661; and in 1676 the name of John Martyn stands alone.

The Bible was employed as a sign by booksellers as early as the sixteenth century. Richard Jugge dwelt at it in 1550-1568, and Myles Jenyns in 1581.

The Bible and Anchor was adopted by a firm of booksellers named F. Tyton and Jane Underhill, who were living here in 1660.

The Bible and Crown was the sign of C. Rivington, bookseller and publisher, in 1731, and of F. C. and J. Rivington in 1811.

The Bible and Peacock, at the west end of St. Paul's, was the sign of Benjamin Crayle, bookseller, in 1688. The Holy Scriptures and this gay bird may seem to some an incongruous combination; but it is not so in fact, for the peacock was anciently regarded as an emblem or type

of the Resurrection, and therefore a fit accompaniment to the Book of Life. We shall meet the peacock again by and by.

The Bible and Sun was from 1758 to 1763 the sign of John Newbery the publisher.

The Bishop's Head was a printer and bookseller's sign of long standing. In 1591 it was held by William Ponsonby, in 1627 by George Lathum, in 1660 by Sa. Thompson, and in 1663 by J. Thompson. From 1677 to 1690 Walter Kettilby was master at *The Bishop's Head*. During the reign of Queen Anne, Robert Knaplock lived here, and in 1708 published Hatton's *New View of London*.

The Black Bear.—Here, from 1575 to 1591, Thomas Woodcock carried on the trade of bookseller and stationer; and here, in 1632, was to be bought of Robert Allot, the second edition of Shakspeare's plays. In 1670 W. Grant-ham, bookseller, dwelt at this sign.

The Black Boy, though usually a tobacconist's sign, was adopted for that of a bookseller's shop near the little north door of St. Paul's. Henry Sutton was living there in 1565, and Timothy Rider in 1582. Here, in 1593, was published Adam's *Court Leete*. In 1689 we find W. R. and J. Bullard trading as booksellers at the sign of *The Old Black Boy*.

The Black Eagle was a very ancient sign. It is mentioned by Stow in his *Annals*, p. 484, when recording the great tempest of 1506. He says it "blew down the eagle of brass off the spire of St. Paul's Church in London, and in the falling the same eagle broke and battered *The Black Eagle* that hung for a sign in St. Paul's Churchyard."

The Black Spread Eagle was from 1646 to 1659 the sign of a bookseller named Giles Calvert, who, like others of his time, issued little tokens, but on which there is no indication of his trade. They read: GILES CALVERT AT THE WEST END OF ST. PAVLS. The obverse bears the device of a spread eagle.

The Brazen Serpent was one of the grandest signs which decorated our ancient Churchyard. Here, in 1544, dwelt Reynold Wolfe, bookseller and King's printer, after whose decease his widow Joan continued the business for some time. In her will, dated July 1st, 1574, she desires

to be buried near her late husband, in St. Faith's Church, and bequeathes to her son, Robert Wolfe, the Chapel House (their printing office), *The Brazen Serpent*, and all the prints, letters, furniture, etc. In 1576 John Shepherd was master of the premises; and in 1584 we find Ninian Newton and Arnold Hatfield carrying on the printing business at *The Brazen Serpent*, and they were followed in 1590 by Robert Dexter. The bookseller's trade was continued here by Samuel Gillibrand till 1650, and by a person named Englefield in 1659.

The Castle and Lion was the sign of Joseph Cranford, bookseller, in 1659, at which time we find the same name at *The King's Head and Bible*.

The Cathedral Hotel of course takes its title from the sacred edifice which towers above it.

The Cock seems to relate more to St. Peter than St. Paul; but still it appeared here as a sign, in 1553, of a printer, one John Turke; and in 1580, of Robert Redborne, bookseller.

The Crane was, no doubt, the bird so called, and not the machine for raising goods, which would have been out of place in this locality. At this sign, in 1561, Lucas Harrison or Harryson exercised the art of printing; and Tobie Smith was a bookseller here in 1583. The names of three booksellers who dwelt at *The Crane* in the seventeenth century have come down to us: Walter Burre, who published Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* in 1614 and 1617; John Williams, who in 1639 published *Pallas Armata, the Gentleman's Armoris*; and Edward Brewster, who was in business in 1661, and in 1685 published the fourth edition of Shakspeare's plays.

The Crown was one of the loyal signs adopted by the booksellers of St. Paul's Churchyard. Francis Constable was living at this sign in 1630, John Williams in 1663, and James Knapton in 1708.

The Dolphin and Crown, the badge of the Dauphin of France, was probably first set up here by a native of that country. At the close of the seventeenth century it was the sign of R. Willington, bookseller. His successor was a musical instrument maker named James Young, who is immortalised in a catch which appeared in *The Pleasant Musically Companion*, 1726:

“You scrapers that want a good fiddle well strung,
 You must go to the man that is old while he 's Young;
 But if this same fiddle you fain would play bold,
 You must go to his son who 's Young when he 's old.
 There 's old Young and young Young, both men of renown;
 Old sells, and young plays, the best fiddle in town.
 Young and old live together; and may they live long,
 Young to play an old fiddle; old, to sell a new song.”

When this catch was given to the world, the Youngs had removed to the *Queen's Head Tavern*, Paternoster Row, where they held their concerts; and the old *Dolphin and Crown* was once more occupied by a bookseller, Thomas Astley, who in 1726 published Dr. Garth's poem entitled *The Dispensary*.

The Dunciad, one of the oddest subjects that could be chosen for a sign, was that of R. Griffithe, a bookseller of the middle of the eighteenth century. Did he intend to honour or deride the author of the poem? and how was the sign set forth?

The Fleur-de-Lys and Crown was the sign of Arthur Johnson, who in 1602 was the publisher of Shakspere's *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

The Fountain was in 1660 the sign of a bookseller's shop.

The Fox was the sign of Matthew Law, who published Shakspere's play of *Richard II* in 1609.

The Gilded Lion and Crane was the sign, in 1642, of a bookseller.

The Globe and Compasses was a fit sign for an establishment where works on geography and mapping could be purchased. We learn that it was the sign of a bookseller from the following quaint title of one of his publications, “*Sin Discovered to be Worse than a Toad*, sold by Robert Walton at *The Globe and Compasses*, at the west end of Saint Paul's Church.”

The Golden Acorn was the sign of one Miller, bookseller, in 1661.

The Golden Ball was, in 1659, the sign of R. White, bookseller. In 1684 the business had passed into the hands of John Gellibrand, and in 1750 W. Johnson was master of *The Golden Ball*.

The Golden Cup (in all probability the sacramental chalice) was the sign of John Bartlet the elder, a bookseller.

The Golden Lion.—John Robinson kept a bookseller's shop here in 1682.

The Golden Viol and Hautboy, at the north side of St. Paul's Churchyard, was, in the early part of the eighteenth century, the appropriate sign of Richard Meares, musical instrument maker, who had previously carried on business at *The Golden Viol* in Leadenhall Street.

The Goose and Gridiron, in London House Yard, at the north-west end of St. Paul's, is one of the quaint old tavern signs so popular with our ancestors, and must be numbered among such burlesques as *The Cat and Fiddle*, *The Pig and Whistle*, etc. This house is said to occupy the site of the ancient *Mitre* tavern, which was destroyed in the great fire of 1666.

The Grasshopper was, in 1555, the sign of Christopher and Robert Barker, the Queen's printers. The Barkers took for their device a man barking a tree, as may be seen on the title-pages and last leaves of many of their old folio and quarto Bibles and Testaments. Robert Barker, the last of the family, died in the King's Bench, Jan. 12, 1645.

The Green Dragon had a long life as a bookseller's sign. In 1574 Francis Cradock dwelt under the shadow of its wings. In 1600 Thomas Heyes here published Shakspeare's *Merchant of Venice*. Andrew Crook was here from 1642 till 1655. In 1660 the business was carried on by Messrs. Andrew Crook and J. Bast.

The Green Hill, at the west door of St. Paul's Church, was in 1548 the bookselling establishment of William Hill or Hyll and W. Seres; and as late as 1598 a William Hill was still in business here.

The Greyhound.—H. Bagshaw's *Sermons* were published here, in 1673, by Joseph Nevil. We shall find a *White Greyhound* of an earlier date further on.

The Gun, at the little north door of St. Paul's, was, from 1579 to 1600, the sign of Edward White, printer and publisher. *The Gun*, at the west end of St. Paul's Churchyard, was in 1675 and 1678 the sign of Henry Brome, bookseller.

The Half-Moon was a bookseller's sign in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thomas Bennett was master here from 1696 till 1703, and in 1709 Henry Clements appears upon the scene.

The Hat and Star was the sign of Master Bates, from

whose shop-bills we learn that he sold all sorts of fine "caines, whippes, spurres," etc.

The Hedge-Hog, on the west side of St. Paul's Church, was the place of business, from 1544 to 1576, of William Seres or Seeres, bookseller and printer, and partner of the famous John Day.

The Helmet, from 1550 to 1574, was the sign of a book-seller and printer named Humphrey Toy; a kinsman, no doubt, of the Toys of *The Bell and St. Nicholas*. In 1587 the business had passed to Thomas Charde.

The Hen and Chickens.—Here, in 1663, Thomas Dicas published Edward Waterhouse's *Fortescutus Illustratus*.

The Holy Ghost was one of those profane signs which were too frequently adopted by traders in the middle ages, and some of which found their way into St. Paul's Churchyard. About the middle of the sixteenth century a printer and publisher named John Cawoode lived at this sign; and here, in 1602, William Leake published Shakspeare's *Venus and Adonis*.

The Holy Lamb, or *The Lamb* as it was sometimes called, was, from 1551 to 1586, the sign of Abraham Veale or Vele, as is testified by the works issued from his press. In 1637 Colin Cowper here printed a *Sermon* by W. Watts.

The Key.—Thomas Hacket, bookseller, was living at this sign in 1586, when he published an English translation of Polybius.

The King's Arms was such a favourite sign "when loyalty no harm meant", that we might well expect to see it displayed near the metropolitan Cathedral. During the reign of George II it was the sign of J. Hinton, who in 1748 was the publisher of *The Universal Magazine*.

The King's Head was another loyal sign of the old booksellers. Robert Bostock was living at it in 1636, T. Garthwait in 1663, Samuel Carr in 1680, and Richard Wilkin in 1700.

The King's Head tavern preserves at least the title of the ancient sign; but whether it marks the site of the bookseller's shop is another question.

The King's Head and Bible was, in 1659, the sign of Joseph Cranford, bookseller, whose name also appears, at the same time, at *The Castle and Lion*.

The King and Bible was in 1680 the sign of John

Gillibrand and R. Solleres, booksellers; the former, no doubt, a relative of Samuel Gillibrand of *The Brazen Serpent* and *Golden Ball*.

The Ling (or Codfish), wreathed with honeysuckle, was the sign of Nicholas Ling, whose shop was at the north-west door of St. Paul's, where, in 1595, he published *Pierce Pennylesse, his Supplication to the Divell*. In 1582 Ling was at *The Mermaid*.

The Lucrece was set up in honour of Lucretia, the wife of Tarquinius Collatinus. The fair lady had small connection with literature; but somehow or other she was a favourite with the booksellers, and Thomas Purfoote adopted her as his sign as early as the year 1537, and Leonard Axtell owned her in 1557.

The Maiden's Head (as the bust of the Virgin Mary was denominated), was at the commencement of the sixteenth century the sign of Richard Fax, printer. He was succeeded, certainly as early as 1538, by Thomas Petit, Petyt, or Petyte, who continued in business up to the year 1541, and was the printer of several law books.

The Marygold, that bright and pretty flower, was the sign from 1638 to 1673, of Francis Eglishfield, bookseller and publisher.

The Mermaid.—This was a bookseller's sign as early as the sixteenth century. John Baynes was living at it in 1525; and Nicholas Ling, in 1582, whose name has already been noticed.

The Mitre, near the west end of St. Paul's, was a well-known tavern in olden times. In the reign of Charles II, it was kept by Robert Hubert, *alias* Forges, who here exhibited a curious assemblage of odds and ends, as is shown by his "Catalogue of many Natural Rarities, with great industrie, cost, and thirty years' Travel into Foreign Countries, collected by Robert Hubert, *alias* Forges, gent., and sworn servant to His Majesty; to be seen at the place called the Musical House at *the Miter*, near the west-end of S. Paul's Church, 1664." A large portion of this collection was purchased by Sir Hans Sloane, and hence now forms part of the British Museum.

The Mitre tavern was one of the first music houses opened in London, and retained its reputation until the great fire of September 1666 devoured the ancient building.

The Parrot is one among the birds that displayed their plumage in St. Paul's Churchyard. At this sign lived Andrew Maunsell, printer and bookseller, from 1570-1600.

The Peacock was from 1685 to 1689 the sign of Robert Clevell, bookseller.

The Phoenix, the emblem of Resurrection, was in 1686 the sign of Henry Mortelocke, bookseller.

The Pied Bull, near St. Austin's Gate, was the sign of the shop whence Shakspeare's play of *King Lear* was issued in 1608 by Nathaniel Butter, who was still in business here in 1626. Butter deserves to be remembered as the chief projector of one of our earliest newspapers, *The Weekly News* of 1622.

The Prince's Arms at the west-end of St. Paul's Churchyard, was in 1646, the sign of Humphrey Mosely, bookseller; and in the reign of William III, of Samuel Smith and Benjamin Walford, printers to the Royal Society; and here, from 1713 to 1719, dwelt William Innys, the publisher of Medical Works, Sermons, etc.

The Princeps, as a bookseller's sign, can be traced from 1686 to 1717, in which latter year W. Innys published an edition of Hippocrates.

The Printing Press was, in 1658, the sign of Samuel Speed, bookseller.

The Queen's Arms tavern was, during last century, the rendezvous of many notables, among others Dr. Samuel Johnson, David Garrick, Oliver Goldsmith, and Shuter the comedian.

The Red Bull gave to the world the first edition of Shakspeare's *King Lear*.

The Red Dragon, a Royal emblem, was the sign from 1558 to 1594 of Edward Aggas, bookseller.

The Red Lion held its ground as a bookseller's sign from the middle of the sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century, and it probably had a longer life than we have yet evidence. William Bonham was living here in 1551; and one Bonwicke in 1697.

The Red Lion and King's Arms seems to bespeak a union of two signs. In the sixteenth century William Bonham, stationer, carried on business here.

The Rose, at the great north door of St. Paul's, was in the year 1551 the residence of John Wyghte or Wight,

bookseller and printer, from whose press issued Skelton's *Armony of Byrdes*. In 1593 it was the abode of another printer, Richard Boyle; and in 1616 of H. Fetherstone; and in 1733 of T. Ashley.

The Rose and Crown was the sign of a bookseller named Bogue, who in the reign of Elizabeth was suspected of having had a hand in the publication of the mysterious *Martin Marprelate Tracts*, and hence got into sad trouble. George Thomason was living here in 1659. From 1684 to 1698 Richard Chiswell here carried on the bookseller's trade, and in 1700 we find Daniel Midwinter and Thomas Leigh in possession of the business.

St. Austine was the sign of Hugh Singleton, bookseller, in 1580.

St. George, the patron of England, was the sign in 1527 of John Reynes, bookseller and bookbinder. Among his successors were William Beddell, 1548, and Thomas Sturruppe, 1576.

St. Michael, from 1539 to 1560 was the sign of Michael Lobley, printer, stationer, and bookseller, who had previously been servant to Henry Pepwell of the *Trinity*, to be mentioned anon.

St. Nicholas, in 1531, was the sign of one of London's early printers, John Toye.

The Seven Stars, near the north door of St. Paul's, was, in 1653, the sign of Richard Moone, printer.

The Ship was the sign of a bookseller's shop, occupied from 1679 to 1685 by Benjamin Took; and in 1705 by a person named Taylor.

The Spread Eagle "in Paules Churchyard, over against the great North Doore", was in 1550 the sign of Walter Lynne, bookseller. At this sign, in 1609, R. Bonian and H. Walley published the first edition of Shakspeare's *Troilus and Cressida*; and here too, in the same year, William Burley published *Pamelia*, *Musick's Miscellanis of pleasant Roundelays and Catches*. *The Black Eagle* and *The Black Spread Eagle* have already been mentioned.

The Stag's Head, near St. Gregory's, was the sign, in 1659, of Robert Clavel, bookseller and publisher.

The Star.—Thomas Raynald, bookseller, was living here in 1549. In 1553 Roger Madeley had succeeded to

the business, which certainly outlived the middle of the seventeenth century, for in the year 1661 we find Simon Miller issuing works *ad Signum Stellæ*. At this time there was a Miller at *the Golden Acorn*.

The Sun showed its genial rays in St. Paul's Churchyard at an early period. In 1555 Anthony Kytson, printer, lived under its beams, and was succeeded in his business about the year 1573 by William Williamson, a name we shall again see at *The White Horse*.

The Sun and Fountain, in 1652, was the sign of John Bothwell, bookseller.

The Swan was, in 1550, the sign of John Kinge, printer and stationer, who was succeeded, about the year 1562, by Gerard Dewes, who was still here in 1584. Peter Short, in 1602, and W. Keblewhite, in 1697, sold books at *The Swan*.

The Three Bibles was the dwelling place in 1675 of John Crumpe, bookseller, who among other works had for sale Heylin's *Cosmography*, *Don Belianis of Greece*, *Mary Magdalen's Tears*, *The Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell the late Usurper*, etc.

The Three Crowns was, in 1708, the sign of Daniel Midwinter, bookseller.

The Three Crowns and Looking-Glass, in the reign of George II, was the sign of Edward Midwinter, printer and bookseller, who in 1732 published *A Guide from the Cradel to the Grave*, a work in verse descriptive of life's progress from its dawn to close. *The Three Crowns*, or in other words the Arms of Cologne, was a very early sign, and the addition of *The Looking-Glass* was probably due to the fact that Midwinter had a shop with this sign on London Bridge, where he published a variety of small books.

The Three Gilt Cups, near the west end of St. Paul's, was the sign of H. Fletcher, who, in 1657, published Sheppard's *England's Balme*.

The Three Golden Cocks, at the west end of St. Paul's, was the sign in 1683 of B. Simmons, bookseller.

The Three Kings, near the west door of St. Paul's, "by my Lord of London's Palace", was the sign in 1515 of Julian Notary, one of our early printers.

The Three Lillies (i.e., the Arms of France) was in 1578 the sign of Richard Day, bookseller.

The Three Pigeons was a bookseller's sign in the seventeenth century, and here, in 1637, Humphrey Robinson published Milton's *Masque of Comus*.

The Three Tuns was, in the seventeenth century, a tavern, whose host or hostess issued tokens bearing the Vintners' Arms on the obv., with the initials E. C. on the rev., the legend reading—AT THE 3 TVNN TAVERN IN S. PAVL'S CHVRCHYARD.

The Three Wells, at the north-west door of St. Paul's Church, was the sign in 1572 of Henry Binneman, bookseller, once servant to Reynold Wolfe. He died in 1583.

The Tiger's Head was the sign, in 1576, of Christopher Barker, in which year he printed a Bible. It was the home of Toby Cook, printer, from 1579 to 1590; and in 1635 of Henry Sale, bookseller.

Tobit's Dog was the sign of a tavern at the south-west corner of St. Paul's Churchyard down to the first quarter of the present century. There was then fixed to the front of the house a well-executed painting of a dog of the Talbot type, with a splendid gilt collar, and standing on a very gay greensward.

The Tree, at the west end of St. Paul's Churchyard, was the abode of Richard Day, printer, the son of the famous John Day, in 1577.

The Trinity, from 1502 to 1539, was the sign of Henry Pepwell, bookseller and publisher. From the colophon to his works we learn that the Trinity was represented by a triangle with a circle at each point, with the following words disposed in them—PATER, FILIVS, SPIRITVS; and between the circles on each of the sides of the triangle, the words NON EST: the shield of arms attributed to the Holy Trinity by the heralds in mediæval times.

The Trunk was the sign, in 1684, of Caleb Swinock, bookseller.

The Turk's Head was a very favourite sign with coffee-house keepers in the seventeenth century. One is commemorated by a penny token bearing the words—THE COFFEE HOVSE AT THE WEST END OF ST. PAVLS, LONDON. It was also the sign of a bookseller named Shortgrave, in 1686.

The Unicorn was the sign of Abel Swalle, bookseller, in the year 1685.

The Walnut Tree was, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, the sign of a tavern at the south side of St. Paul's Churchyard, over against the New Vault. A concert was advertised at this house in *The Daily Courant* of July 1, 1718, the price of the admission tickets being five shillings each,—a somewhat high charge, taking all things into consideration.

The White Greyhound was in the possession of John Harrison, bookseller, as early as 1575. By 1593 his business had passed to Richard Field. At this sign was published *The Rape of Lucrece, Venus and Adonis*, and other early productions of Shakspere.

The White Hart was, in 1703 and 1704, the sign of Timothy Child, bookseller.

The White Horse, from 1539 to 1551, was the sign of Andrew Hester, bookseller and printer. In 1571 the business was being carried on by William Williamson. This name appears at *The Sun* in 1573.

The White Lion was a bookseller's sign in the sixteenth century. In 1604 *The Shepherd's Calender* was "printed at London by G. Elde, for Thomas Adams, dwelling in Paule's Churchyarde, at the signe of *The White Lion*." In 1637 Charles Green had succeeded to the sign and business.

This catalogue of signs, brief and imperfect as it undeniably is, is yet enough to prove that our ancient metropolitan Cathedral was engirded by a strange and motley group of subjects gathered from all quarters of the world, and reaching to the very heavens. The Sun, Moon, and Pleiades, here shone forth in all their splendour. The Blessed Trinity, the Sacred Lamb, the Holy Ghost, with angels and saints, were freely paraded, as if they were trivial things to which no reverence was attached. King's, Bishop's, Maiden's, and Turk's heads were here too, with the Black Boy and Mermaid, the Bear, Bull, Dog, Fox, Hedgehog, Horse, Lion, Stag, Tiger, and Unicorn; and such winged creatures as the Eagle, Cock and Hen, Crane, Goose, Parrot, Peacock, Phoenix, Pigeon, and Swan; Serpent and Dragon, Dolphin and Ling, and Grasshopper, being the representatives of reptiles, fish, and insects; the vegetable kingdom being typified by the Acorn, Almond and Walnut-trees, the Lily, Marigold, and Rose.

Inanimate objects were not forgotten: witness the King's, Queen's, and Prince's Arms, the Anchor, Ball, Bell, Bible, Compasses, Crown, Cup, Gridiron, Gun, Hat, Hautboy, Helmet, Key, Looking-Glass, Mitre, Trunk, Tun, and Viol. And by whom were these several signs displayed? They were chosen by a few taverners, a musical instrument maker, a dealer in whips and walking-canes, who invaded this hallowed home of literature, where for centuries congregated printers, booksellers, and publishers, and to whom the overwhelming mass of signs here enumerated belonged. Literature, and its quaint old signs, have well-nigh vanished from their old haunt; but the chapter I now submit will show, in some slight degree, how the two were once blended together; and how, for generation after generation, they continued to flourish around the stately and venerable Church of St. Paul's in London.

THE ANCIENT CASTLE OF PLYMOUTH.

BY R. N. WORTH, ESQ., F.G.S.

(Read August 1883.)

BEFORE the last vestiges of the ancient castle of Plymouth are removed, it may be of some interest to put upon record the little that is known of a building which played an important part in the history of Plymouth, and therefore in the history of the nation. The fortifications of Plymouth date from the latter part of the fourteenth century, under orders made by Edward III (1374), and Richard II (1378). The last-named monarch granted one hundred marks yearly for twenty years and six years' customs duties for the purpose, and walls of some kind were erected under the oversight of the Prior of Plympton, as lord of the town. These defences did not, however, prevent the spoiling of the place by the Bretons in the opening years of the fifteenth century, when 600 houses were burnt; and the inhabitants then, under patent from Henry IV, erected a wall with towers and other defences. This was the date of the construction of the castle.

The site was well chosen—a rocky spur at the eastern end of the Hoe, immediately overlooking and commanding the narrow entrance to the ancient harbour of Plymouth, which still retains its olden name of Sutton Pool. As beseemed a town under ecclesiastical proprietorship, the church authorities gave their powerful aid to the work. Bishop Stafford in 1416 granted an indulgence towards the erection of two towers and the repair of a causeway or quay, which probably occupied the site in part of the present Barbican Pier. That he was an effective helper in the undertaking, the fact mentioned by Risdon, that his “armories” had been “engraven in the work”, sufficiently indicates. Other bishops followed Stafford's lead. Lacy in 1449 granted another indulgence to all true penitents contributing *ad novam fabricacionem fosse vie juxta castrum infra villam de Plymouth*. Seventy years

afterwards Veysey also assisted in strengthening the defences.

The earliest description of the castle is that of Leland, who calls it "a strong Castel quadrate, having at eche corner a great round tower", and adds, "it seemeth to be no very old peece of work". This description corresponds very closely with the drawing in the well-known map of the southern and western coasts, *temp.* Henry VIII, preserved in the British Museum, which I reproduce; and also with Risdon's statement, "A castle they have garretted with turrets at every corner". From this "castel quadrate" the present arms of the town, a saltire for St. Andrew, the patron Saint, between four castles, are believed to be derived. There was an earlier coat, a ship on the waves, with three masts surmounted by fire beacons, and this has been curiously embodied in the modern seal.

The municipal records of Plymouth contain many references to the castle, and show that it was maintained by the appropriation of one of the towers or castles to each of the then four wards of the town, by the names of which the towers were occasionally known. Moreover, as the Mayor of the town in those early days was Commander-in-Chief of the borough forces, and all the inhabitants had to take their part in the "watch and ward", or else to find a substitute, so the heads of the little community—the "twelve and twenty-four"—were supposed to act as the castle garrison. The text of an order is extant, made by Humphrey Fownes, Mayor in 1588-9 and 1596-7, setting forth who should inhabit the castle "in time of warre". Three Aldermen and six Councillors were set apart for each tower, the Mayor taking his station in the north-eastern, which would be that more immediately overlooking the entrance to Sutton Pool.

Work was done upon the castle in 1508-9, when, after it had been made clean, at a cost of *iiii*s. for "mete and drynke for the beggers that labored aboute" its cleansing for a day, stone was brought from Prince Rock for its reparation or improvement. At another date we read of the pulling down of the ivy that grew on the castle walls and the clearing of the ditch; but as time went on the castle became comparatively of less importance, in conse-

quence of the erection of various "gun platforms" and bulwarks, partly by individual patriotism and liberality, on the sea face of the Hoe, which after the defeat of the Armada were "methodised into a fort regular", and which were the small beginnings of the present citadel.

Unfortunately, very few of the entries afford any clue to the real character of the building, beyond what we have already seen; but it is evident that each of the towers consisted of an upper and a lower floor with a platform roof. Under Elizabeth the platforms were covered with lead; and in 1590 "7 brass pieces were playnted uppon the iiij castells". In all probability the castle was allowed to fall into decay after the conclusion of the siege, in which it played its part in the defence of the town against the Cavaliers; and it is quite certain the town would not be allowed to maintain it after the citadel was built.

Still, within the past hundred years there must have been very considerable remains of this venerable structure. The last portions of importance left were the north-eastern tower, and the foundations of the south-eastern, with the gateway. To the MS. recollections of an old townsman, named Harris, we are indebted for the only particulars that can be gleaned of the appearance of the fabric early in the present century. In 1807 he says that there only remained one castle, and that "brought down almost to the internal base, there being on the inside about five feet serving for a breastwork, and a garden wall, the area being let for a garden. The diameter of this castle was about 30 feet; 200 feet to the south there were the remains of one with a diameter of only 10 feet; finally removed about 1804." The tower which Harris describes disappeared only within very recent years; and he evidently overlooked the existence of other relics of the castle, some of which have continued to the present day, including those of the gateway in Lambhay Street, for the drawing and plan of which I am indebted to my friend Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A. The preservation, until the visit of the British Archæological Association, of this most interesting relic of old Plymouth, is clearly due to the utilization of the eastern flanking turret as a dwelling.

The barbican of the castle has long existed but in the name it has given to the pier at the entrance of Sutton Pool ; and Harris has preserved the only description which we have. It was of small extent, not quite the breadth of the present pier, and had a breastwork. In the enclosure there was an old one-roomed building with a porch, having the town arms on the front and the date 1528. "In the pavement was the figure of a gunner in the act of firing a cannon, said by tradition to record the bravery of one man, who, when Plymouth was besieged, and only one charge of powder left, fired the cannon, which had been crammed to the muzzle and placed in a lane by which the besiegers approached, scattering death around and losing his own life !" Believe it who list. The ground of the barbican was dug away for the pier, and four square subterranean chambers discovered outside the wall, and below high water-mark. Stone shot have been found in the castle remains.

ON SOME ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS AT EXETER.

BY JAMES B. DAVIDSON, M.A., F.S.A.

(*Read May 16, 1883.*)

SEVERAL original documents of the Anglo-Saxon period have been in possession of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter from time immemorial. They are written on parchment, in handwriting of different dates, and of greatly varying merits of execution. Two of them are endorsed on the back of other two, so that thirteen parchments contain fifteen deeds.

The subject-matter of these instruments shows that they have come from several different sources. They represent, unfortunately to a fragmentary extent only, the property or the affairs of four churches, that of St. Mary at Crediton, Devon; of St. Mary and St. Peter at Exeter; of St. Petrock at Bodmin; and of St. German, in the parish of that name, Cornwall. In order to show how this came about, a brief historical outline may be desirable.

The conquest of Devonshire by the West Saxons may be shown, by examination of the chronicles, with the aid of local observation, to have taken place certainly during the forty years which elapsed between the accession of Cuthred, in A.D. 741, and the death of Cynewulf in 785. Whether the conquest was effected at one stroke, or by a succession of invasions, may be open to question; but there can be no doubt that this period of forty years witnessed the subjection and colonisation of the district formerly Domnonia, and Dyfnaint, and now for the first time called Defenascire, the shire of the Defnas. From the death of Cynewulf, who was slain by his kinsman at Merton, Surrey, in 785, the spiritual care of this province (for it was still considered as an English colony in Welsh territory) would naturally devolve upon the Bishop of Sherborne, whose see had been founded by Ine eighty years before. But the direction of this province by the Bishops of Sherborne must have been slight, and restricted

probably to missionary efforts only, for in about 885, a century after Cynewulf's death, we have the remarkable statement by Asser, the then Bishop, that on a certain occasion King Ælfred unexpectedly gave him "Exanceastre, cum omni parochia quæ ad se pertinebat in Saxonia et in Cornubia." Here we observe that "Saxonia" must mean Devonshire, for the settlements west of Selwood, in Somerset and Dorset, were already parts of the diocese of Sherborne; and what is meant by the passage is probably this, that the Saxon colonists in the King's manors in Devon (the "coloni regis") were formally placed under the spiritual dominion of the Bishop of Sherborne.

It was not till 909, in the reign of Eadweard, son of Ælfred, Plegmund being Archbishop of Canterbury, that a bishopric for Devonshire was established, the see being at Crediton. At the same time a missionary charge was committed to the Bishop of Devonshire to visit the Cornish people every year for the purpose of extirpating their errors; and a provision, in the shape of three Cornish manors, was made for him, at a "witena-gemot", to defray the expenses of this annual expedition. So matters continued for a few years, until in 931 the name of Cunan or Conan, first Bishop of Cornwall, is found appended to a charter of Æðelstan. The seat of this bishopric was the church of St. Petrock at Bodmin. In A.D. 981 Petrockstow was destroyed by the Danes, and then it probably was that the see was transferred to St. German's.

Thus from A.D. 909 we have a regular line of Saxon bishops of Devonshire seated at Crediton, and from about 931 a similar line of bishops of Cornwall seated at Bodmin, or at St. German's, down to the death of Burhwold, Bishop of St. German's, which took place at some unknown date from 1026 to 1036, when Lyfing, Bishop of Crediton, was permitted by Cnut to hold the Cornish along with the Devonshire see at Crediton. Thus the church of Crediton became, so to speak, the ecclesiastical chancery for both counties; and in this way such muniments of title as were removable with the see, passed from Bodmin to St. German's, and were deposited at Crediton, where we know that there existed, before the Conquest, a place of custody for land-charters.

Bishop Lyfing, who died on Sunday, 23rd of March,

1046, was succeeded at Crediton by Leofric, priest, and chaplain to Eadweard the Confessor. There he remained as Bishop of Devon and Cornwall until 1050, when the united see was transferred to Exeter and the bishop's chair was set up in the church of the monastery of St. Mary and St. Peter. The transfer of the see would involve the removal of the episcopal charters, and thus it came about that the church of St. Mary and St. Peter at Exeter,—which until the 15th December 1876, the date of the Order in Council constituting the bishopric of Truro, remained the episcopal church for the two counties—became the place of deposit of records which originated not only with its own foundation and history, but with the annals of the three other sees of Crediton, St. Petrock's, and St. German's.

The subsequent history of these documents is not without interest. As far as is known, they remained unnoticed until the time of Archbishop Parker, when they were examined and a few copies were made, some of which are in the library at Corpus College, Cambridge. One other (No. II below) in J. Josselin's handwriting is in the Cotton library (Vit. D. VII), the partly burnt volume. So matters stood until about the year 1703, when Humphrey Wanley, in the course of his travels in search of Anglo-Saxon MSS. for Dr. Hickes, came to Exeter, and was permitted to see such of the Exeter charters as are now laid before the Association. Of these he makes a catalogue, giving a brief, but very accurate description of each, with a few occasional criticisms. These remarks, upon being brought to Oxford, were, with the rest of Wanley's notes, translated into Latin by Dr. Charlett, Master of University College, and are to be found at pp. 281, 282 of the third volume of Hickes' *Thesaurus*. The deeds themselves, moreover, were permitted to be removed and placed in Dr. Hickes' hands for a time, but only, as it seems, with the utmost difficulty. The learned doctor, who was then compiling his famous *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, or letter to Sir Bartholomew Shower, had a particular inducement to refer to these charters, as Shower was then member for the borough of Exeter; and, in June 1701, we find Hickes daily expecting to receive these MSS. In the Wanley

correspondence there is extant a letter of this date from Hickes, showing the greatest impatience at the delay; and this may well be accounted for, considering the state of Shower's health. The Doctor was afraid that his letter would not appear in the lifetime of the person to whom it was addressed. Probably it was complete, and was waiting only for this consignment to receive its last touches; for only one of these Exeter MSS. is mentioned (p. 77) in the text of the letter; the references to the others of this series that are alluded to are in notes at the foot of the page, shewing them to have been supplemental to the main writing. If this apprehension was the cause of the writer's vehemence, it was too well founded, for Shower died at Pinner, and was buried on the 12th of December 1701; and the Dedication (to Charlwood Lawton, Esq.), of the *Dissertatio*, lamenting Shower's death, is dated the 14th of the same month. Before returning the charters to Exeter, Dr. Hickes showed them to Dr. Miles Kennett, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, and he made copies of six deeds of this series (but without the Anglo Saxon boundaries), which are in No. 966, of the Lansdowne MSS. (ff. 80-86 of the old paging).

Thus it happened that five deeds of the present series, having been printed in full by Dr. Hickes, became known to the learned world, and so the subject remained for upwards of a century. The editors of the *New Monasticon* had no other sources for their compilation than were afforded by Wanley, Hickes, and Kennett. In the years from 1839 to 1848 appeared the *Codex* of Kemble. He drew from the same sources, with the help of one or two examples at Canterbury and elsewhere, and of the copies at Cambridge. One of the present series, though printed in Hickes, was omitted, probably because the date, 1069, exceeded Kemble's limit. It is a subject of lasting regret that Kemble never saw these originals, and was thus unable to pronounce upon their authenticity with the same authority as he might otherwise have done.

A few original notices respecting one or two of these instruments, are to be found in Mr. Pedler's *Anglo-Saxon Episcopate of Cornwall*, published in 1556; but the extracts furnished to him were incomplete.

Then, in 1861, came Dr. Oliver's *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, in which he prints for the first time two of the deeds of this series, but without the Saxon boundaries. The latter were printed for the first time by the present writer in the *Transactions of the Devon Association*, to which further reference is made below.

It only remains to add that upon the accession of the present Bishop of Exeter, the deeds of this series, being found lying in the offices of the late bishop's secretary, were sent for exhibition to the Albert Museum at Exeter, where negatives were taken, from which photographs have been printed, and may be purchased by the public at large. Thus it has come about that after centuries of seclusion, these documents may now be read and examined at leisure.

NO. I (13 OF WANLEY).

ÆDELSTAN.

HROCASTOC, ROOKSTOCK, STOKE CANON.

A.D. 938.—This purports to be a grant by King Ædelstan to the church of the Monastery of St. Mary at Exeter, of six perches (*perticæ*) of land at a place called Hrocastoc, the boundaries of which are given. This charter is one of a class of which six are known to exist, all purporting to be grants by Ædelstan, and all bearing the impossible date A.D. 670. Of the five, other than the present, one is at Canterbury;¹ another in the William Salt Library, Stafford;² a third in the British Museum;³ and the remaining two in this collection.

With regard to this spurious date, Wanley is naturally very severe. He (or rather his translator) describes the deed as "commentitia" and "conficta"; and Dr. Hickes, who prints the document,⁴ condemns it as the work of an ignorant forger ("ignarus falsarius quidam"). He founds

¹ Printed in the Canterbury volume of the Ordnance series of photozincographs; *Cart. Ant. Cantuar.*, t. 37.

² Printed by Kemble, *K. C. D.*, *ccclxx; ii, 206; iii, 411; from a pen-and-ink facsimile made by Joseph Ames the antiquary, and bound up in No. 446 of the Lansdowne MSS., fo. 48.

³ Add. MSS., No. 19,516; printed in the Camden Society's publications for 1857; Trevelyan Papers, p. 2.

⁴ *Diss. Epist.*, p. 6 (n.), whence Kemble takes his reprint, *C. D.*, ccclxxi; ii, 207; iii, 411.

his indictment upon three objections, two of which are satisfactorily disposed of by Kemble,¹ and need not be repeated. But the erroneous date is not so easily explained away, and the utmost Kemble can say in extenuation is to claim for the document "a gentle construction", on the ground of the carelessness or ignorance of the transcriber. He seems to have been convinced of the truth of the instrument as an historical record, though admitting it to be a faulty copy. If this view be adopted, we may go further, and suggest how the error may have arisen. Suppose a scribe, in the thirteenth century, directed to engross these charters; and suppose him to have been told, or to have had a memorandum given him stating that they were 268 years old. He might (though the blunder would have been a gross one) have subtracted the 268, not from the year he was writing in, but from the true date before him, namely 938. Thus he would have hit upon the impossible figure, 670. If anything of this sort happened, the date of the present scripts would be brought to A.D. 1206, the seventh or eighth of John,—a period not, perhaps, inconsistent with the character of the writing.

Another point to be noticed about these six deeds is that they are all in a nearly common form, and that a form which is not to be found elsewhere amongst the genuine deeds of Æðelstan. Instead of beginning with a long exordium containing moral and religious reflections, they open with a simple announcement of the date, and then proceed to the grant. When it is further observed, that of one of them (the Canterbury charter, T. 37, relating to Topsham, Devon) there exists also at Canterbury² another version, in perfect condition, relating to the same place, but in very different form, we cannot but be led to the conclusion that these six deeds are something less than even copies; that they are reconstructions of genuine grants by Æðelstan, of a later age, and in terms wholly differing from the language of the originals. From Cnut's charter to Æðelwold, Abbot of St. Mary's, Exeter,³ in

¹ *K. C. D.*, vol. ii, Intr., p. vii.

² Also printed by Kemble, *C. D.*, ccclxix; ii, 204; and published by the Ordnance Survey in their Canterbury volume.

³ Printed by Kemble, dccxxix; iv, 3.

1019, we learn that when the city was taken and plundered by Swegen in 1003, the church documents were burnt;¹ and it is quite possible that in the reign of John some necessity may have arisen for the existence of these instruments. In this view they are neither originals nor copies of originals: they are mere substitutes for originals; but not fictitious, in the sense of being false representations. They record real transactions; but not even in the terms in which the grants were originally made.

The locality bears the curious name of Hrocastoc, that is, Rookstock. The prefix derived from a rookery has wholly disappeared; but the boundaries sufficiently identify the place as Stoke Canon, in the fork of the rivers Culm and Exe, four miles north-east of Exeter. As the same boundaries occur in a deed later on, they may be noticed again presently.

✠ Anno dominicæ incarnationis dclxx. indictione xi. Ego æðelstan rex anglorum dabo pro aeterna remuneratione et pro expiatione animæ meæ sex perticas ubi incolis uocitatur hrocastoc deo et sanctæ mariæ ad monasterium quod incolis uocitatur exaceaster. ut habeat quamdiu christiana fides in gente anglorum maneat. Precipimus quoque et obsecramus in dei omnipotentis nomine et in trinitatis honore ut nullus hominum in aliquo tempore ausus sit frangere uel minuere. Sed stabilis et inconcussa permaneat. Si autem aliquis hoc in aliquo frangere temptauerit sciat se in aeterna dampnatione poenitere nisi hic celeriter emendet.

Huius agelluli termini hæc sunt. Ærest of sulforda east anlang herpoðes on culū þanon eastrihte to langanforda þanon suð anlang streames oð culū lace anlang lace of þære lace up to þære ealdan dic anlang þære dice on ceaggan cumb þanon on cinges sloh þanon anlang peges to þæm mægenstane þanon suð þærða pegas to licgað þanon on þone norðmystan hrycpeg anlang hrycges to ðære eorð burh middepeardre þanon on brydena pyll þanon ut on exan up anlang exan oð scræpanleges lace 7 scræpanleg þæto þænne fram æðelstanes hammes forða on sulforda 7 feoper eceras bepestan exan fornagean edferðes eald lande.

✠ Ego æðelstan rex anglorum meum donum cum sigillo sanctæ crucis conclusi

✠ Ego eadmund indolis clito consolidau

✠ Ego pulfhelm archiepiscopus adqueiui

✠ Ego þeodred episcopus coadunau

✠ Ego brihtelm episcopus subscripsi

¹ "Diruto monasterio a paganis, et crematis priuilegiis quæ antiqui reges concesserant supradicto coenobio." (P. 4.)

✠ Ego ælfheah episcopus faui
 ✠ Ego æðelgar episcopus consolidauī
 ✠ æðelstan dux
 ✠ ælfhere dux.
 ✠ eadmund dux
 ✠ odda minister
 ✠ pihtbord minister
 ✠ heremod minister
 ✠ pihtlaf minister
 ✠ ælfhere minister.

II (7 OF WANLEY).

ÆDELSTAN.

CULUMSTOCC, CULMSTOCK.

A.D. 938.—This is another deed of the same class as the last. It is printed by Hickes,¹ and from him by Kemble.² It also bears the impossible date 670, and is of the common form described above. The writing greatly resembles that of the last. The indiction of this instrument, as of the other five above mentioned, being XI, is a reason why the true date should be assigned to A.D. 938. This purports to be a grant by Ædelstan to the church of St. Mary and St. Peter at the monastery called Exeter (“ad monasterium quod ab incolis nominatur Exanceaster”) of five *cassati* at Culumstocc. Wanley, as may be expected, is again very severe upon the fraudulent monks who concocted this forgery, imitating, as they did so, the writing of an old hand before the Conquest. But, as before, Kemble’s exculpatory remarks apply, and permit us to take a more charitable view.

In the Cotton Library (Vit. D. 7) is a written copy of this charter by Jo. Josselin. At the foot is the following note: “The Archbyschoppe of Canterburye had this Charter of the Deane of Exeter Churchē.” The Archbishop was Parker, and the Dean, Gregory Dodde³ or Dodds.⁴

The boundaries can be traced, but not everywhere with the same certainty. They include the modern parish of Culmstock, which is on the Culm, six miles above Cul-

¹ *Diss. Epist.*, p. 6 (n).

² CCCLXXIII; ii, 209; iii, 412.

³ Wanley, *Cat.* 152, col. ii.

⁴ Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops*, p. 277.

lompton, and touches the Somerset frontier; also parts, apparently, of Uffculm, Culm David, and Hemiock. Several Celtic names are found, such as Hackpen Hill, Cradock, and Peon-Mynet.

Culmstock belonged to the church of St. Mary, Exeter, at the time of the *Domesday Survey*, and was rated at five hides, answering to the five *cassati* of this grant.

✠ Anno ab incarnatione dominicæ dclxx. indictione xi. Ego æðelstan rex anglorum dabo pro aeterna retributione et pro expiatione animæ meæ quinque cassatos ubi incolæ uocitant culumstoc. deo et sanctæ mariæ necnon et sancto petro principi apostolorum ad monasterium quod ab incolis nominatur exanceaster. ut habeat quamdiu fides catholica in gente anglorum maneat. Precipimus quoque et obsecramus in dei omnipotentis nomine et in sanctæ trinitatis honore ut nullus homo in aliquo tempore unquam hanc nostram donationem infringere ausus sit. Sed stabilis sit coram deo et hominibus usque in seculum. Si quis autem hoc in aliquo frangere uel minuere temptauerit. sciat se in aeterna dampnatione puniri, nisi hic celeriter emendet. Huius agri termini hæc sunt. Ærest on haca penn forepeard adun on secgpyll þanon on craducc þon anlang streames on culumford of þæm forde to þorn pylle þanon to brydpylle þanon to þære ænlipan æc þanon anlang herpoðes on heanhangran middepeardne þanon on hpitan beorh þanon on gerihtne on fengel þanon ongerihtne to ðam ealdan gepeorce þanon on lyrichangran þon up on gyran torr þanon on þone hpyrfel þanon on þone þorn þanon on peon mynet eastepeard þanon ongerihtne on þa lace adun on culum up of culum on ða ealdan lace on burhgeardes porðig þanon ongerihtne to rancumb þanon pest ongerihtne be ecge on haca penn forepeardne.

- ✠ Ego æðelstan rex anglorum hanc meam donationem cum sigillo sanctæ crucis impressi
- ✠ Ego eadmund indolis clito consensi
- ✠ Ego pulfhelm archiepiscopus dictaui
- ✠ Ego ælfheah episcopus adqueiui
- ✠ Ego æðelgar episcopus notau
- ✠ Ego brihtelm episcopus faui
- ✠ Ego pynsige episcopus conclusi
- ✠ pulfgar dux
- ✠ ælfhere dux
- ✠ æpelstan dux
- ✠ odda minister
- ✠ pulfhelm minister
- ✠ ælfheah minister
- ✠ æðelferð minister
- ✠ pihtgar minister.

III (4 OF WANLEY).

ÆDELSTAN.

NYWANTUN, NEWTON PETROCK.

A.D. 938.—This is a third example of the class of deeds to which Nos. I and II belong. It is not mentioned by Hickes or Kemble, and has never been printed, though Mr. Pedler, in his *Anglo-Saxon Episcopate of Cornwall*, refers to it.¹ Dr. Kennett made a copy of it. This was originally a Bodmin instrument. It purports to be a grant by King Ædelstan “to God and the holy confessor Petrocus”, at “the monastery of the same saint” (*i.e.*, at Bodmin), of one *cassatus* of land at the place called Nywantun, in perpetuity. The date is again 670, the indiction XI; and not only the character of the writing, but the direction of the lines, which are entered along the breadth instead of the length of the parchment, so closely resemble the construction of the Stafford charter above mentioned, as to lead to the conjecture that they were written at the same time and by the same hand.

Wanley condemns this charter in the same terms as before. Nevertheless the instrument represents, almost undoubtedly, a genuine grant, in the year 938, by Ædelstan to St. Petrock’s, Bodmin, of the land described, which is now the parish of Newton Petrock, in the hundred of Shebbeare, eight miles west from Great Torrington, on the east bank of the Torridge, North Devon.

The boundaries may be very easily traced. Toric, or Tor-hric, as the origin of the modern form, Torridge, is especially noticeable. Newton, at the date of *Domesday*, was held by the priests of Bodmin, and was assessed at one hide of land.

✠ Anno dominicæ incarnationis dclxx. indictione xi. Ego ædelstan rex totius bryttanniae insulae dabo pro aeterna retributione et pro expiatione animæ meae unum cassatum in loco ubi ab incolis uocatur æt nyphantune deo et sancto confessori petroco. ad monasterium eiusdem sancti ut habeat quamdiu fides catholica in gente anglorum permaneat. Precipimus et obsecramus in dei omnipotentis nomine in sanctae trinitatis honore ut nullus hominum in aliquo tempore unquam ausus fuerit hanc nostram donationem minuere aut frangere in aliquo. sed semper stabilis et inconcussa perma-

¹ P. 167.

neat . tam deo quam hominibus usque in æternum tempus . Siquis autem hoc munus in aliquo frangere uel minuere temptauerit sciat se coram deo et sanctis eius rationem redditurum . nisi hic prius celeriter emendet coram idoneis testibus. Huius agelluli termini hi sunt. Þis sind þa landgemæro to ny pantune. Ærest on puduford. þon upp on stream oð þone lyttlan broc. þonne andlang broces oð hreodmores heafod. þonne on gerihte suð ofer dune to loddan broces æpylman. þonne adune on loddan broces stream oð toric. þonne upp on toric stream eft to puduforda.

- ✠ Ego æðelstan rex anglorum hanc nostram donationem signo crucis impressi
- ✠ Ego eadmund indolis clito consilium dedi
- ✠ Ego pulfhelm archiepiscopus consolidauit
- ✠ Ego þeodred episcopus subscripsi
- ✠ Ego ælfheah episcopus adqueiui
- ✠ Ego brihthelm episcopus consensi
- ✠ Ego eadhelm episcopus faui
- ✠ Ego æpelgar episcopus conclusi
- ✠ æðelstan dux
- ✠ ælfhere dux
- ✠ eadmund dux
- ✠ eðelsie dux
- ✠ odda minister
- ✠ pihtmund minister
- ✠ æðelmod minister
- ✠ deormod minister
- ✠ pulfgar minister
- ✠ osulf minister.

IV (3 OF WANLEY).

EADGAR.

TIWÆRNHEL, TYWARNHAYLE.

A.D. 960.—This is also a Cornish deed, belonging originally to the church at Bodmin. Dr. Kennett copied it, but it has never been printed. Its execution is so good as to have excited the admiration of Wanley, who describes it as an “elegant” charter. It is a grant by King Eadgar to his faithful thegn, Eanulf, of “ix cassati” in the place called Tiwærnhel, and moreover (*alibi*) of “ii mansæ” in the place called Bod-eudan. The indiction, III, is right for the date, A.D. 960. Dunstan and Oscytel, amongst the signatories, are both described as bishops. It is possible that Dunstan was still a bishop; but Oscy-

tel must have been Archbishop of York long before this date. The other signatory bishops are easily assigned.

Tiwærnhel, otherwise Ty-warn-hayle, "the House on the Salt-marshes", lies on the western or left bank of a small stream which falls into the sea at Peran-porth, near the southern point of Ligger Bay, on the north coast of Cornwall. Ligger Bay, fronting nearly due west, is so called from its northern extremity, Ligger Point, thus named from the "lugarn", or lighthouse, that once stood upon it. The above small stream divides into two nearly equal portions the large parish of Perranzabuloe, which in 1842, before it was lessened by the formation out of part of it and part of St. Agnes, of the parish of Mithian, contained 10,955 acres. Tywarnhayle is just within the south-western portion. In the north-western are the dunes, formed of fine sand, blown up in clouds by the western gales from the shores of Ligger Bay, which have engulfed, according to Norden, two successive churches dedicated to St. Peran, whence the name "Peran-in-sabulo". With memorials of St. Peran, the patron saint of tanners, the whole parish abounds. There is a Peran's well, a Peran Comb, a Carn Peran (in these boundaries), besides the famed Peran Rounds, or open-air theatre. Inland, on the lofty banks of the little stream, an ancient fortress on the north, Carkie or Carkief, watches a similar fortress on the south called Caer Dane, possibly a memorial of the invasion of 981.

The boundaries of this grant are believed to correspond with those of the modern parish. If this be correct, Tiwærnhel of the charter occupies the southern and south-western portion, and Bodeudan the northern and eastern. Bodeudan may possibly be Bod-Edhewon, the Jews' dwelling. It is possible that traders may have been attracted by the rich mineral veins which traverse the northern portion of the parish, and of which sections are exposed on the face of the cliffs below Peran Porth.

Several objects of interest occur in the boundaries. A Cristelmæl, or crucifix, stood at the south-west angle of the parish where Perranzabuloe meets the three parishes of Kenwyn, Kea, and St. Agnes; and the actual barrow on which it stood may perhaps still be identified. Its office, whether as manor boundary, landmark, or symbol

of religion, is now supplied by the conspicuous spire and church of St. Mithian, recently built just outside the boundary corner, on the west. "Welentine's get" occurs just where the boundary touches that of St. Allen's parish; and we are led to think that possibly "Allen" may be an abbreviation of "Valentine". "Carnperan" falls in very well with the remains of an ancient barrow removed of late years, and leaving only a few traces discernible. This object is marked, but not named, in the Ordnance Map, where its position is not quite correctly placed.

Tiwarthel of *Domesday*, 121 (1), belonged to St. Petrock's, Bodmin; and was held as a fief of the priory by Robert Earl of Mortain. It was reckoned at seven hides. Next following in *Domesday*, come the manors of Elhil, valued at one hide; Calestoch, at one hide; Cargav, at two hides; and Trelloi, at one hide—all held in the same way. Probably these five manors were all in the modern parish of Perranzabuloe, Elhil being the modern Chynhale; Calestoch the modern Callestick; Cargav, Karkief; and Trelloi, Trelight. Moreover it is stated, 122 (2), that the Canons of Pieran held Lanpiran, reckoned at three hides. These Lanpiran lands lay in the north of the parish,¹ near the spot where the ancient church stood, where a cross now stands, and where the ruins of the oratory (rendered useless for antiquarian purposes by restoration), with its burying ground, are still to be seen.

In this view, Tiwærnhel of the charter, with its *ix cassati*, would answer to Tiwarthel, Elhil, and Calestoch of *Domesday*, valued together at nine hides; and the two *mansæ* of Bodeudan would answer to Cargev and Trelloi, valued together at three hides. Bodeudan would also comprise the lands of the canons of St. Peran.

✠ Regnante imperpetuum domino nostro ihesu christo Diuersorum decretorum mortalium traditiones ac uicissitudines temporum sub testimonio caraxaturæ commendandæ sunt ne successura posteritatis prosapia in falsitatis uoraginem et ignorantiae nebulam demergatur. Qua de re ego eadgar regali fretus dignitate aliquam ruris portiunculam meo fideli ministro uocabulo eanulf satis deuote impendere curauim. id est .ix. cassatos in loco ubi dicitur ti pærnhel. et alibi duas mansas quo uocitatur bod eudan. ut liberam potesta-

¹ Oliver, *Monasticon*, Add. Supp., p. 10.

tem habeat habendi et donandi uel cuicumque heredi uoluerit reliquendi. Sit uero predictum rus ab omni seculari grauedine expers nisi expeditione et arcis munitione pontisque construccione. Quicumque hoc decretum minuere seu transmutare satagerit noscat se reum esse in die iudicii coram christo et sanctis eius nisi hic digna satisfactione emendauerit. Huius quoque donationis scedula anno dominicae incarnationis .dcccclx. indictione .iii. Carraxata est et his testibus roborata quorum nomina subtus litterulis depicta cernuntur.

- ✠ Ego eadgar rex hanc meam donationem confirmaui
- ✠ Ego dunstan episcopus consensi et subscripsi
- ✠ Ego oskytel episcopus consensi et subscripsi
- ✠ Ego byrthelm episcopus consensi et subscripsi
- ✠ Ego alfpold episcopus consensi et subscripsi
- ✠ Ego byrthelm episcopus consensi et subscripsi
- ✠ Ego kynesige episcopus consensi et subscripsi
- ✠ Ego osulf episcopus consensi et subscripsi
- ✠ Ego apulf episcopus consensi et subscripsi
- ✠ Ego ælfhere dux consensi
- ✠ Ego ælfgær consensi
- ✠ Ego ælfheah dux consensi
- ✠ Ego byrhtferþ consensi
- ✠ Ego æpelstan dux consensi
- ✠ Ego apelpold dux consensi
- ✠ Ego eadmund dux consensi
- ✠ Ego byrhtnoþ dux consensi
- ✠ Ego ælfpine consensi
- ✠ Ego eadric minister consensi
- ✠ Ego kyneric minister consensi
- ✠ Ego ælfsige minister consensi
- ✠ Ego ealdred minister consensi
- ✠ Ego ordgær minister consensi
- ✠ Ego æpelpeard minister consensi

Confinia hujus agelluli haec sunt. Ærest on pen alting þonne on þa ealdan dic on þæt cristelmæl . of þam cristelmæle on pelentines get þanon on finfos of finfos on stream to hryd porpig þanon on uninnenno þanon to carnperan of carnperan to carnpelm þanon on þa ealdan stræt to beþeypre þanon forþ on stræt to dofen soðo þanon on peg on cofer fros þanon on stream to sæ onnon cuic.

V (2 OF WANLEY).

EADGAR.

CLYSTWICON, CLIST ST. MARY.

A.D. 963.—This is an Exeter deed. It purports to be a grant by King Eadgar of one mansa of land at a place called Clyst wicon, to his faithful thegn, Æðelnoð, in per-

petuity. There is a gross inaccuracy in the frame of this deed. The date at the beginning is given as A.D. 951; whilst at the end the charter is said to have been written in 900. Neither date falls in the reign of Eadgar; and when we note, amongst the signatories, Bishop Eadelm (of Selsea) whose first signature is of 963, and Abbot Aðelwold (of Abingdon), who in 963 was raised to the bishopric of Winchester, it is evident that 963 is the only possible date consistent with the names and descriptions of the witnesses.

The boundaries sufficiently indicate a tract of land on the eastern or left bank of the Clist, about two miles above the junction of that river with the Exe. This tract comprises the present parish of St. Mary Clist, and includes also a portion of Woodbury parish, lying to the east of it. The most remarkable feature in the boundaries is the occurrence of the name Grendel, as that of a brook, which winds tranquilly through a rich tract of alluvial soil, formerly a salt marsh. This name reminds the reader of Beowulf, and of Kemble's description of the monster Grendel, in the *Saxons in England* (i, 377). The modern name is Greendale.

Clistwick occurs in *Domesday*.¹ This document is valuable as showing the locality of the ancient Clistwick; in other respects it is of very questionable validity.

In onomate christi. Anno dominicæ incarnationis dccccli. EGO EADGAR REX totius bryttannicæ insulæ fauente deo huic meo fideli homini qui ab infantuli etate nomen accepit æðelnoð aliquam ruris particulam donabo id est unam mansam ubi ruriculi uocitant clyst picon in perpetuam hereditatem ut ipse uita comite habeat et post obitum cuicumque libuerit immune derelinquat. Sit autem predictum rus liberum ab omni sæculari seruitio excepto communi labore quod notum est cunctis. Et si quis amodo hanc nostram donationem amouerit sciatur se deo contraiturum ire non mihi quia ab illo potestatem accepi. His metis prefatum rus hinc in deo gyratur. Æryst up of clyst on ða ealdan dic. of stræt on siegan mores heafod. þanon on þa ealdan dic on grendel. up anlang grendel on þone ealdan ford. þanon on frog pytt þanon on piðig ðyfel. þanon on ða ealdan dic. þanon on grendel of þ hreade clyf. þanon on blindan pyll þanon on clænan splott suðþeardne. þanon on gerihte on þone stan beorh. þanon w....b.. on ðone ealdan weg fram þam ealdan pege on þa ealdan hyrnan. þanon pest sceft ofer þone mor on þone

¹ Ex., 114 (2); Exon., p. 319.

peg on suðhealfe þære langan dic . þanon on grendel . þanon on þa
piðig ræpe . þanon forð up on grendel . þanon on clyst. Scripta est
haec cartula anno dominicae incarnationis dcccc. His testibus con-
sistentibus quorum nomina inferius notantur.

- ✠ EGO EADGAR REX anglorum concessi
- ✠ Ego dunstan archiepiscopus corroborauī
- ✠ Ego oscytel archiepiscopus confirmaui
- ✠ Ego osulf episcopus consolidauī
- ✠ Ego brihtelm episcopus adqueiui
- ✠ Ego alfpold episcopus consensi
- ✠ Ego eadelm episcopus conclusi
- ✠ Ego aðelpold abbas
- ✠ Ego ælfhere dux
- ✠ Ego ælfeah dux
- ✠ Ego æpelstan dux
- ✠ Ego aðelpold dux
- ✠ Ego eadmund dux
- ✠ Ego ælfgar minister
- ✠ Ego ælpine minister
- ✠ Ego brihtferð minister
- ✠ Ego æðelsige minister
- ✠ Ego ælfsige minister
- ✠ Ego osferþ minister.

VI (9 OF WANLEY).

EADGAR.

LESMANAOC, MANACCAN.

A.D. 967.—This is another of the Bodmin deeds. The penmanship is irregular and wanting in finish. It is seemingly by two hands. Wanley condemns the charter. His translator describes it as “commentitia”, probably on account of the bad writing. Dr. Hickes, also, notices the document,¹ and prints it at length. Hence it is that it appears in Kemble,² who sees no reason, apparently, to doubt its genuineness. Dr. Hickes, however, condemns it. His strictures are founded partly on the use of the word “sigillum”, a criticism which if sound would go to the root of nine-tenths of the Saxon charters which have survived. This objection is wholly disposed of by Kemble.³ Dr. Hickes’ next censure is founded on the character of the writing. He says, “Moreover the charter, including the final anathema, is all, except as to

¹ *Diss. Epist.*, 6 (n).

² *K.C.D.*, DXXXIV; iii, 11.

³ *K.C.D.*, vol. i, Int., p. ci.

the proper names, written in a Norman hand, whilst the description of the lands is written in a Normanno-Saxon hand, as is shown by the double-pointed tops of the letters; and the names of the witnesses, with the exception of the last, are all, together with the six opening words of the charter, written in capitals, a fashion which was in use in the reign of Henry I. This may be seen by the following copy of the original, which is given with all its blemishes." Dr. Hickes then prints the charter, but not in such a way as to show the forms of the letters, or the capitals. This is another proof of the haste with which this part of *Dissertatio Epistolaris* was prepared for the press. All this criticism is based on the supposition that the writing claims to be coeval with the event recorded. When it is once admitted that the writing before us is a twelfth or thirteenth century copy, these remarks lose their force. Another objection is the use of the word "uasallus"; the grant being "uni meo fideli uasallo." Dr. Hickes asserts that this is a post-Norman word unknown to Saxons before the Conquest. But three examples, at least, of the use of this word in the years 903, 952, and 956 respectively, occur in charters about the validity of which Kemble entertained no doubt, and others may very probably be found.¹ Dr. Hickes further points out that the Norman forger (*falsarius*) has twice betrayed himself by inserting a French "à" for an English "to" in the description of the boundaries. He refers, probably, to the strange forms "ageriht" for "geriht", and "aðan" where "toðan" might have been expected. But it is questionable whether these small irregularities are not due to the carelessness of the writer. Upon the whole, the imputation of forgery seems to fail. The writing is a poor copy, and that is all.

The charter purports to be of the date 967, and in the seventh year of Eadgar's reign, which is right. At the bottom of the list of bishops (all whose names are in order), comes the unusual statement, "Ego Wulfsie episcopus hanc chartulam, dictante rege suisque præcipientibus, perscribere jussi". We do not stay to criticise the

¹ "Fasallus" in 903, MLXXX (v, 152); "uassallus" in 952, CCCCLXXXI (ii, 302); and "vasallus" in 956, CCCCLXII (ii, 338).

Latin, but the expression indicates that, at some gemot in 967, Wulfsie, who was bishop of Cornwall, was charged with seeing that this grant of Cornish lands was duly prepared.

The grant is of three hides of land at Lesmanaoc and Pennarð to a vassal named Wulfnoð Rumuncant. This vassal seems to have been a Cornishman, who had assumed the Saxon prænomen of Wulfnoð. "Cant", signifying "white", was a common prefix and suffix to Cornish names, as appears from the Petrockstow manumissions. "Rumon", besides being the name of a famous Irish saint, to whom were dedicated three churches in Cornwall, and one in Devonshire, occurs as the name of a manumitting slave-owner, in the same MS.

Les manaoc in Cornish is the equivalent of Zele monachorum in Devon, "lis" or "lês", signifying the setl, sele, or station, of the "manachan", or monks. The boundaries correspond inexactly with those of the parishes of Manaccan and St. Anthony together; and Manaccan, which is on the south shore of the Helford River, below Falmouth, is evidently the modern form of Lesmanaoc. The boundaries may be traced with tolerable exactness, with the help of some other documents printed in the *New Monasticon* and in *Oliver*. The demonstration is too long for this occasion. The "one acre" at Pennarð is now represented by a farm called Pennare, near Nare Point.

✠ REGNANTE IN PERPETUUM DOMINO NOSTRO JHESU CHRISTO. Cunctis sophie studium ferme rimantibus stabili notum constat ratione quod presentis esentiae periculis incubantibus et curis evanescentium rerum inopinate crebrescentibus humana mortalium rerum cognitio quasi ros minuendo elabitur et obliuioni tandundem traditur nisi aliqua certa ratione prenotetur quia non sunt aeterna quae consumerentur hic . sed terrena. Ideo ego eadgar rex anglorum telluris gubernator et rector uni meo fideli uasallo nomine pulfnoð rumuncant . aliquā terrae portionem . id est . iii . mansas . concede liberaliter in aeternum possessionem . in loco ubi uulgariter uocitatur . lesmanaoc et pennarð . ut illo predicto territorio uoti compos uita perfruatur comite . et post obitum eius cuicumque uoluerit heredi derelinquat tam in minimis quam in magnis . campis . pascuīs . pratis . siluis . piscarisque immunem adfruendum derelinquat. Prefatum siquidem rus omni seruitio careat . preter expeditionem pontis et arcis munimen.

✠ Dis is para . iii . hida landgemaeru æt lesmanaoc . ærest up of porðalap andlang riðe agean stream to hryt eselt þoñ suð ȝ lang

riðe to crousprah þoñ forð suð to cestell merit fram cestell merit to crucou mereðen. þoñ east ageriht to lein broinn þoñ to hryt catpallon. þoñ adun andlang cendefrion oð þa lytlan riðe. þoñ up andlang riðe to fonton gēn frā fonton gēn 7 lang dices to þā herepaðe þanon aðan lytlan dic to þan miclan dice. þoñ for on þa dic to fosno cedu þoñ adun 7 lang riðe eft to perdalau. þoñ is þis þæs anes æceres landgemæru æt pennarð ærest frā sæ 7 lang dic to þa riðe. þoñ andlang riðe eft on sæ.

Dominice incarnationis. Anno dcccclxvii. mei imperii. vii^{to}. anno scripta est haec singrafa his testibus consentientibus quorum nomina esse uidetur.

✠ Ego EADGAR gratia dei totius britanniae telluris rex meum donum proprio sigillo confirmaui

Ego DUNSTANUS archipresul agiae sanctae crucis impressi

Ego æðelpoldus episcopus contestor

Ego ælfstanus episcopus corroborau

Ego byrhtellmus episcopus adqueiui

Ego ælfpoldus episcopus annui

Ego pulfsie episcopus hanc cartulam dictantis rege suis que precipientibus perscribere iussi

Ego ælfhere dux 7

Ego ælfheah dux 7

Ego æðestan dux 7

Ordgær dux 7

Ego æðelpine dux 7

Byrhtnoð dux 7

Byrhtferð minister 7

pulfstan minister 7

Æðelpeard minister 7

Toce minister 7

Ælfpine minister 7

Osferð minister 7

Ælfsie minister 7

Osgær abbas 7

Ordbyrht abbas 7

Leofpine minister 7

Si quis uero hominum hanc meam donationem cum stultitiae temeritate iactitando infringere certauerit sit ipse grauibus per colla depressus catenis inter flammiumas tetrorum demonum ceteruas. nisi prius irriguis poenitentiae gemitus et pura satisfactione emendauerit.

VII (9B OF WANLEY).

EADGAR.

LANNMOREN, LAMORRAN.

A.D. 969.—This deed is indorsed on the Lesmanaoc grant, last described. The writing is quite as irregular and ill-

executed as that of the former, and is perhaps by the same hand. Wanley will not admit it to be even a copy. His translator's description is "apographa, seu potius commentitia". He considers the writing to be of the time of William I. Dr. Hickes mentions the deed, only to condemn it as "ejusdem furfuris" with the last. He does not print it, and it is believed never to have been published before.

It purports to be a grant by King Eadgar to his "man" named *Ælfeah Gerent*, and to his wife named "*Moruurei*", of two manses and one perch (*pertica*) of land at two different places, namely *Lannmoren* and *Trefneweð*. The date is given as of 969, indiction 12, which is correct. The boundaries correspond very nearly, perhaps exactly, with those of the parish of *Lamorran*, in the hundred and deanery of *Powder*, five miles south-west of *Probus*. They begin at "*Pen poll Lannmoren*", the head of the *Lamorran* pool or lake, and may be easily traced.

The other estate, *Trefneweð*, lies on the western or right bank of the river *Fal*; the boundary beginning at the river, just opposite the mill above *Grampound*. The "one perch" of land at *Trefcelest* (now *Tregellas*) was on the same side of the river, adjoining *Trefneweð* on the south, and thus must have been just opposite *Gram-pound*.

Again we find as grantee a *Cornu-Briton*, bearing the once royal name of *Gerent*, with an adopted English name of *Ælfeah*. Amongst the names in the *Petrockstow* gospels is that of a woman named *Moruiw*, who with her family is manumitted. On the same page occurs *Gurient* as the name of a manumitted man.

✠ In nomine sanctae trinitatis. Imminentibus uitae caducis terminis quam in nos sceleris licet onere pressi nutu diuino statuti. tamen dominica prosequentes monita prout quimus secundum illud euangelium ubi dicitur date et dabitur uobis. Quapropter ego eadgar rex anglorum ceterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector pro petitione nobilium meorum dedi cuidam meo homini uocitato nomine *ælfæah gerent*. et uxori suae uocabulo *moruurei*. duas mansas et unam perticam in discretis uidelicet locis ubi dicitur *lannmoren* et alibi ubi appellatur *trefnepeð* æternaliter quatinus habeant ac possideant uita comite hoc est quamdiu uitalis spiritus in hac erumosa uita fragile corpus aluerit.

postquam uero separatio animae a corpore fuerit quod cunctis mortalibus commune indeclinabiliter cognoscitur. cuicumque uoluerint heredi derelinquant in aeternam hereditatem. Maneatque prout iam predixeram donum istud ab omni seculari seruitio exinanitum cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus. campis pascuis pratis siluis exceptis istis tribus expeditione pontis arcisue constructione. Hanc uero meam donationem quod opto absit a fidelium mentibus minu-entibus atque frangentibus fiat pars eorum cum illis de quibus e contra fatur. discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum qui paratus est satanae et satellitibus eius. Istis terminis ambitur predicta tellus.

Ærest of pennpoll lannmoren up bi þā broce oð hret þiniau þoñ forð 7 lang broces to penhal þoñ to maen pynn þoñ to oðrū pen hal þoñ adune bi þam broce to sæ. Ðis sint þa gemæro to trefnæpð ærist frā fæle ongeriht to penn beþop to þam pytte þoñ ongeriht ofer þa læge to þam oðre pitte to tref celestes gemære þoñ forð to caeruureh þoñ ongeriht to penn hal peðoc þoñ to maenber þoñ ongeriht to pen hal þoñ forð to carn pinnioc þoñ adune to pen hal þoñ adune be þære riðe to fæle. Ðis synt þa gemæro to tref celest þære are gyrde æryst fram fæle þoñ up bi þā broce to þæs pylles heafde þon forð to caer lydan þoñ to cayruureh þoñ lið þis land gemære to trefnepið lande.

Acta est haec prefata donatio anno ab incarnatione domini nostri jhesu christi .dcccclxix. indictione duodecima.

Ego eadgar rex anglorum indeclinabiliter concessi
 Ego dunstan archiepiscopus cum signo sanctae crucis.
 roborau
 Ego aðelpold episcopus adquiui
 Ego brythelm episcopus corroboraui
 Ego ælfpold episcopus consignaui
 Ego ælfhere dux
 Ego ælfeah dux
 Ego ordgær dux
 Ego æthelstan dux
 Ego aðelpine dux
 Ego brihtferð minister
 Ego ælfpine minister
 Ego aðelpeard minister
 Ego leofpine minister
 Ego pulfstan minister
 Ego eanulf minister
 Ego ælfsige minister
 Ego aðelpeard minister
 Ego leofa minister
 Ego byrhtri minister.

VIII (1 OF WANLEY).

EADWEARD.

HYPLES EALD LAND.

A.D. 976.—This is an Exeter document of much the same character as the two last mentioned, but in a different hand, and of better execution. It purports to be a grant by Eadweard (the Elder), “King of the Anglo-Saxons”, of one perch (pertica) of land, namely “Hyples Eald Land”, to his faithful vassal, Ælfsige, in perpetuity. Amongst the signatories are Archbishop Dunstan; Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester; Alfwold, of Sherborne; and Wulfsie, of Cornwall. The name of Sideman, who at this date was Bishop of Devonshire, at Crediton, does not appear. The rare designation of King Eadweard the Elder, as “rex anglorum saxonum”, King of the Anglo-Saxons, deserves notice.

Wanley, in his notice of this deed, makes a very amusing remark, which is thus translated, “Fortè, carta mendosissimè et vitiosissimè scripta, a Rege rejecta fuit”. These epithets are somewhat exaggerated, as will be perceived. Dr. Hickes takes no notice of the charter, which seems never to have been printed, or noticed, except as above.

The date is given as 976, and with the date are given also the indiction, concurrent, epact, year of the nineteen years’ cycle, and year of the king’s reign. All are correct, except the indiction, which should be iv instead of v. The signing bishops and others are correctly named, so far as can be ascertained; amongst them are Dunstan, archbishop, Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, Alfwold of Sherborne, and Wulfsie of Cornwall. The grant is stated to have been made at Pydelan, or Piddletown, Dorset, where the Saxon kings had a residence.

Great difficulty has been met with in ascertaining the locality of this grant, but the writer is at length satisfied that it may be found in the parish of Cheriton Bishop, Devon. The key word is “Lanford”, which appears as “Lanford” in *Domesday*, 118 (1), next to Ceri-

tone, which is Cheriton Bishop, both places having been held T. R. E. by the same Saxon, Alestan, and both being then in the hands of the same king's thegn, Godwin. The subsequent history of Lanford may be traced in the hundred Roll. In *Testa de Nevill* it is spelt Lampford. Risdon, writing in about 1620, says that Sir Francis Fulford, Knight, was then lord of the manor of Lampport. Polwhele (iii, 61) follows Risdon, and the Messrs. Lysons (p. 99) follow Polwhele; but they are inaccurate in quoting Risdon as saying that Lampford (as they spell the name) was the principal manor of Cheriton Bishop. In the Ordnance Map, this farm appears as "Lambert".

The boundaries, which have several points of interest, show a tract of land partly in the west and partly in the south of Cheriton parish, partly also in Drewsteignton. The expression "Hyples eald land" is one of which the writer would be glad to learn the meaning. "Eald land" is to be met with, but "Hypel" as the name of a man is strange. Rather than connect it with Ulph or Olaf, one would prefer to suggest a Celtic origin.

The many curious problems which this deed suggests cannot further be discussed here; but it should be added that endorsed upon the parchment is the following memorandum in very good Saxon:—"This is ðære gyrde boc to hyples eald lande ðe eadweard cynicg het gebocian ælfsie his ðegne on ece yrue."

IN NOMINE domini nostri ihesu christi saluatoris. Cuncta seculorum patrimonia . incertis successoribus . et notis uel ignotis heredibus relinquuntur et uniuersa mundi gloria et populorum pompa supremo fati funere oblita et oblitterata . repente terminatur. Idcirco fuitiuis terrenarum rerum possessionibus et transitoria substantiarum . stipe diuturnum coelestis patrie emulamentum christo patrocinium prestante consequi studeamus. Qua propter . ego eadpeard rex anglorum saxonum aliquam terre unam perticam. Id est hyples eald land. meo fideli uasallo . ælfsige . in perpetuam hereditatem libere . ab omni regali caensu concedo . cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus campis pratis siluis pascuis piscariisque . exceptis tribus rebus expeditione et arcie et pontis constructione . et postquam uiam uniuersitatis adierit cuicumque uoluerit cum perpetuo cyrographo . prefatam terram libenter derelinquad. Acta est autem hæc donatio anno . dcccclxxvi . ab incarnatione domini . Indictione uero .v. concurrentes .vi. epactae .xvii. viii anno cicli

decen nouenalis . meique imperii .ii°. anno in uilla quæ aruienis nuncupatur . pydelan. Is testibus consentientibus quorum nomina infra scripta esse uidentur. Ðis is ðære are gyrde land gemæro æt hyþles eald lande. Ærest fram ðrim staplun rihte iest oð gat pylle þanun iest andlang ruan dune oð stanford of stanforda iest on lamford of lamforda iest on ðære peg .andlang peges .on þa ealdan dic . suð andlang dic on hroces fen oð þær risc broc utseyt ðanun suð rihte on ða greatan pale ofer midel hylle ðanun suð on ða ealdan burh middeperde suð rihte oð cucan broc up andlang cucanbroces oð þær smæl rið utseyt upon smæl riðe oða æpylman ðanun pest on-fryðestanæs dic pest on ða dic oð risc broc upon risc broc oð þri stapulas.

Ego eadpeard rex anglorum hoc donum cum triumpho
agiae sanctae crucis impressi

Ego dunstanus archipresul confirmaui

Ego æðelpoldus episcopus contestor

Ego alföldus episcopus annui

Ego pulfsie episcopus conductauit et subscripsi

Ego ælfere dux 7

Ego æþelpyne dux 7

Ego æþelperd dux 7

Ego leofpyne dux 7

Ego ælfpeard minister

Ego leofpyne minister

Ego byrhtmær minister

Ego alfgar minister

Quisquis igitur hoc nostrum donum conseruare immo augere in-
hianter desiderauerit amplificetur dies illius . et post obitum trans-
ire mereatur feliciter ad regna polorum. Sin autem quod absit.
et deum et semetipsum obliuiscendo aliquis motare temptauerit
anathema sit.

IX (8B OF WANLEY).

EADWARD.

TREFWURABO, TRERABO (ST. KEVERNE).

A.D. 977.—This is a copy, endorsed on a deed of later date relating to the same lands, described below (No. xvi). The writing is evidently by the same hand as that which wrote the Lannmorán endorsement (No. vii). It seems to be the most carelessly executed of any of this series. Presumably it was intended only as a memorandum or rough draft. Wanley describes the deed without criticism. It is not known to have been ever printed.

The original must have come from Bodmin or St. German's. It purports to be a grant by King Eadward (the Elder), to his faithful thegn (comes) Æðelweard, of divers parcels of land situate at different places, namely Trefwurabo, Trefualoc, Trefgrued, and Trefdewig.

The date is given as of A.D. 977, the fifth indiction, the sixth concurrent, year of the epact 28, of the novem-decennial cycle seventeen, and of the king's reign the second. The concurrent for 977 should be seven, and the year of the nineteen years' cycle, nine. The other dates are correct.

The boundaries are seemingly copied from those of the later deed, with which they agree except in two or three minute particulars, where there seem to have been corrections, and accordingly the boundaries of A.D. 977 (No. ix) are slightly more accurate than those of A.D. 1059 (No. xvi).

1. Trefwurabo.—This name is explained by Bannister (*Treraboc*, p. 167), on the authority of Archdeacon Williams, as Tref-yr-abot, Abbots' Ham, or Abbot's Place. It survives in Treraboe, a farm in the parish of St. Keverne, three miles west of the parish church, as the crow flies. This implies the existence of a monastic establishment prior to 977, and the conclusion is borne out by the modern name. It is not easy to say what this establishment, presided over by an abbot, could have been; but considering that the church of St. Keverne, at the time of the Domesday survey, was collegiate,¹ being identical with the St. Achebran whose canons² held Lannachebran T. R. E., we can scarcely doubt that in these four places, Trerabo and the rest, we have the actual prebends which were held by the canons of St. Kebran, or Keverne, before and up to the Norman conquest. The boundaries may be traced without much difficulty, one point being common to this boundary and that of Lesmanaoc above.

2. Trefualoc (probably signifying Trev-gwaloc, "the walled homestead") is now Trevallack, half a mile west of St. Keverne church. In the boundaries mention is made of the maen bith (maen-bêdh), the grave or memo-

¹ Oliver, p. 71.

² Exch. D, 121 (2).

rial stone, from which we get the name of the adjoining farm Tre menheere (Tre-maer-hir). This object will be found described and figured in Mr. Borlase's *Nænia Cornubiæ*.¹

3. Trefgrued or Cruc-wæth.—This seems to signify Cruk-heyth (see Williams, *s.v.* Cruc), Barrow Heath. If this be correct, the barrow will doubtless be the cromlech, known as the “Three Brothers of Grugith”, also described and figured by Mr. Borlase.² The present name of Trefgrued is Grugith. Here also in the boundaries are two stations common to this estate and that of Lesmanaoc, namely Lenbrunn, and Cestelmerit.

4. Trefdewig.—For the origin of this name, Mr. Bannister (p. 156) gives “Dwyvach's Town”. But who was Dwyvach? There is no name in the Ordnance Map answering to Trefdewig. Probably the place is now Trelan.

✠ Regnante in perpetuum domino nostro ihesu christo. Cunctis sophiæ studium ferme rimantibus stabili notum constat ratione. quod presentis esentiae periculis incumbantibus et curis euanescentium rerum inopinate crebrescentibus. Humana mortalium rerum cognitio quasi ros minuendo elabitur et obliuioni tantundem traditur. nisi aliqua certa ratione prenotetur. quia non sunt æterna quæ hic conspiciuntur sed terrena. ut imbutus sermone tonantis apostolus inquit: Nunc uelut umbra cito sic corpore fugiunt res. Sed decus æternum hoc uisu stat certius omni. Quapropter ego eadpard annuente gratia dei rex anglorum ceterarumque circumquaque nationum cum consilio atque consensu episcoporum obtinatumque meorum quasdam ruris particulas in diuersis locis possitus id est trefpurabo æt trefpaloc. trefgrued æt tref depig. In perpetuam hereditatem admodum libenter concedo meo fideli comiti nomine æðelpearð cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus campis siluis pratis piscariisque libere ab omni regali censu excepta expeditione arcisue munimine et uigiliis marinis et postquam uiam universitatis adierit cuicumque uoluerit prefatam terram libenter derelinquat. Acta est autem hæc donatio anno. dcccclxxvii. ab incarnatione domini indictione uero. v^{ta}.vi. concurrentes epacte. xxviii. xvii^o. anno cicli decenouelis meique imperii. ii. anno. His testibus consentientibus quorum nomina infra caraxata fore uidentur.

Ðis ys seo landscaru to trefpurabo ærist æt pollicerr þænne be þære dic and lang peges þoñ of þa pege þoñ on þa lytlan dic on east healfe peges to poll hæscen adun be þā broce to ryt cendeurion þoñ be þam broce to carnuið bran to deumaen coruan. þanon 7 lang peges to cruc drænoc þanon to carrecpynn 7 eft þanon to polli-

¹ P. 277.

² *Nænia*, p. 278

cerr. Dis is seo landscaru to trefualoc ærest to þære dic þoñ frā
dice adun to þā broce of þā broce to crousprach 7 lang peges on þā
dic þanon to mayn bip to cruc mur þanon to carn plicet 7 lang
þære to þā broc þanon 7 lang stremes oð tnop pæ't eft be þære dic.
Dis is seo landscaru to cruc pæð ærest æt nantbuorðtel 7 lang
stremes oð leubroinn þanan to cestelmerit þanon pest to pucou geni-
dor pest andlang dic oð broc þanon to fonton morgeonec þanon
adune to broce þær hit æt fruman pes. Dis is seo landgemæro to
trefdepig ærest æt pennhal meglar suð to þam peg þanon to þā
forda ongerihte to erlipet þanon forð 7 lang stremes to lyncenin
þanon up to penhal meglar.

- ✠ Ego eadpeard rex anglorum hoc donum cum triumpho
agiae sancte crucis
- ✠ Ego dunstanus archipresul confirmaui
- ✠ Ego æðelpoldus episcopus contestor
Ego ælfstanus episcopus annui
Ego pulfsige episcopus condictaui et subscripsi
- ✠ Ego ælffere dux
Ego æðelpyne dux
Ego bryhtnoð dux
Ego leofpine dux
Ego ælfpeard minister 7
Ego ælfsige minister 7
Ego leofpynne minister 7
Ego bryhtmær minister 7
Ego ælfgar minister 7

Quisquis igitur hoc nostrum donum conseruare imo augere inhi-
anter desiderauerit . ampliucetur dies illius et post obitum transire
mereatur feliciter ad regna polorum. Sin autem . quod absit . et
deum et semetipsum obliuiscendo aliquis motare temptauerit . ana-
thema sit et dies illius non dimidiauerit et gloriam dei cum choris
angelorum nequaquam uideat in terra uiuentium.

X (10 OF WANLEY).

CNUT.

TINIELTUN, TINIEL (LANDULPH).

A.D. 1018.—This again is a deed, the original of which
belonged to St. German's. A copy on paper, omitting the
English part, is in Bishop Kennett's book of MS. tran-
scripts above mentioned. Hence it was printed in the
N. M.,¹ and thence by Kemble,² by Pedler,³ with a trans-
lation, and by Haddan.⁴ The Anglo-Saxon boundaries,

¹ ii, 525.

² K. C. D., dccxxviii (iv, 2).

³ P. 126.

⁴ Councils, i, 686.

with the narrative embodied in them, have never, it is believed, before been printed. Wanley describes the deed, but does not criticise it.

The instrument purports to be a grant by King Cnut, of iv *cassati*, in two different places, called Landerhtun and Tinieltun, to Bishop Burhwold for his life; and after his death that Landerhtun should go to St. German's, and Tinieltun be at the bishop's absolute disposal.

The signatures to the deed are correct, and no objection appears ever to have been taken to its authenticity. In fact, it is one of the best of the present series.

The following is the narrative in the English part of the document: "Here is declared in this writing how King Eadmund desired to obtain from bishop Burhwold the family estate at Thrulea, so that he took it from him (the bishop), and gave him the four hides at Landherhtun and the one hide at Tinieltun in exchange for Thrulea. And then I, Cnut, took the kingdom after King Eadmund; and the Bishop told me how they exchanged lands, as above stated. Then I, Cnut, told Bishop Burhwold that I gave him the same lands as fully as King Eadmund had given them before, free of service, throughout his day. And after his day let the land at Landherhtun go to St. German's minster, towards the maintenance of the convent, so long as Christendom lasts; and the Bishop will do with regard to the land at Tinieltun as to him seems meet. And I grant that the land be free of all service that ever arises from land, to the glory of God and St. German, except military service only, and office of prayer for my soul."

The boundaries of the land at Landerhtun comprise some twenty-seven stations, all of which it is not easy to ascertain. The boundary begins at Poldrissic (the briary pool) on the river Lynher (Lyn hir, the "long water"), in the parish of Landrake. It then crosses over to the river Tidi at Tidiford, thence striking north for a series of stations, then returning again to the Tidi, which it follows for more than a mile. It then crosses back again to the Lynher, and along that river returns to Poldrissic. The parishes included are Landrake, part of Quethiock, and part of St. Ives. From the Welsh "Lynhir", is derived "Landerhtun" by addition of the English "tun",

from which in some imperceptible way, the modern form "Landrake" has been derived.

"Tinieltun" is a similar compound of Welsh and English. Tiniel, now Tinnell, is a farm in Landulph parish, on the western bank of the Tamar. The Saxon boundaries comprise lands not only in Landulph, but partly also in St. Mellion's.

"Thrulea", after long search, is believed to be Trerule, an estate two miles west of St. German's, and in that parish.

From the above narrative it appears that until the time of Eadmund Irensida (975), Tiniel was demesne of the Crown, and this is confirmed by the appearance in the boundaries of a king's mill, a place which still survives, and retains its name. Probably Tiniel is the Thinten of the *Exch. Domesday*, 120 (4); and the Tinten of the *Exon*, 200*b*, p. 182; which, T. R. E. and also T. R. W., was amongst the possessions of the see of Exeter.

✠ In nomine sanctae trinitatis. Cum mundi cursus uario ut cotidie cernimus incertoque discrimine tendat ad calcem. cuique mortalium opus est ut sic caducam peragat uitam ut quandoque possit dei adiutus beneficio possidere perpetuam. et quam diu uitae istius utitur aura cuncta quae iusto statuuntur ex anime certis apicum lineis inserere. ne forte subsequentibus ueniant in obliuionem. et sic iunioribus parui pendatur instituto seniorum. Qua propter ego CNUT REX subthronizatus angligenum. Cuidam meo fidelissimo episcopo qui noto uocitamine nuncupatur BURHUULD. condono in aeternae ius hereditatis. quandam telluris particulam. cassatas scilicet quattuor in duabus locis diuisas ubi ab incolis dicitur. LANDERHTUN. et terra aliud. TINIELTUN. ut habeat quamdiu uitalis spiritus in hac erumnosa uita fragile corpus aluerit. et post obitum eius. Terram LANDERHTUN. commendat pro anima eius et regis Sancto Germano in perpetuam libertatem et de TINIELTUN faciat Episcopus quod sibi uisum fuerit. Maneatque prout iam predixeram donum istud ab omni seculari seruitio exinanitum. cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus. campis. siluis. pascuis. pratis. excepto expeditione tantum si necessitas coegerit. et captio furorum libertatem teneat ut superius titulatur. Hanc uero meam donationem quod opto absit a fidelium mentibus minuentibus atque frangentibus fiat pars eorum cum illis de quibus e contra fatur. discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum. et cetera. nisi hic prius satis faciat ante mortem. Istis terminibus predicta terra hinc inde gyratur. Ærest on poldrisoc up on ðære riðe to horspille þanon to þyrlestane þonne to ælmarches pylle on þa riðe on tudi up on tudi to þære litlan riðe þonne pest to cructerlan

þonne pest to ðære riðe adun on ða riðe oð bot frysc þonne norð to þā beorge angeriht to þā fyrcledan stibbe þonne east on þa ryeg pale to þæs mores heafod on þone broc on tudi up on tudi to difrod up on þa riðe to þam forða þonne east to ðæs mores heafod adun on þone broc to bryhter up on þā broce to þā herpoðe þonne norðrihte to þā litan forða þonne up to ðæs cumbes heafdon þonne norð on þonne peg oð þ̅ slæd þonne east to þā cumbe on þære riðe to þā gemyðo up on þone broc to þæs cunbes heafod þonne to þā herpoþe þonne norð on þone peg to emnes ðær litlan byrig þoñ east rihte to þā pylle adun on þone broc to linar adun on stream to poldrysoc. Þis sindon þa land gemæro þæs hipisces to Tinieltune. Ærost of carrecron on þa riðe pest to þæs pylles heafod þanon pest to ðā pege þoñ norð on þone peg to þā stybbe þoñ pest to þā pylle adun on þa riðe to þā fleote up to cynges mylne up on þone broc to nantnepion þoñ suð riht to behrates pylle on þā riðe to þā gemyðo þoñ up on þoñ broc to þelbricce norð on þone peg to ðære dic þoñ pest on þa pale to þā pylle on þære riðe to þā gemyðo þoñ pest on ða ealdan landscaru þoñ norð to þære riðe þonne east on þ̅ slæd to þā broce þoñ east to þa pege on þone hric to þā pylle adun to þā broce oð tamer adun to carrecron.

Her sputelað on pissū geprite hu eadmund cyning gyrnde þæs hipisces landes æt þrulea æt burhpolde biscope. þa se cyning nam þ̅ æt him. þa sealde he him þa .iiii. hida æt landherhtune 7 þa ane hide æt tinieltune ongean þrulea. 7 þa ic cnut cyng feng to ryce æfter eadmund cyninge. þa cydde se biscop me hu hi landa hpyrdon. spa hit her bufan cpið. þa ic cnut cyning cydde pā biscope burhpolde þ̅ ic uðe þara ylca landa ealspa eadmund cyning him ær geuþe sacleas æfre his dæg. 7 ofer his dæge gange þ̅ land æt landherhtune into sanctae Germanes mynster þan hiredum to fostre þa hpyle þe cristendom punige. 7 se biscop deð ymbe þ̅ land æt tinieltune spa hī god pisige. 7 ic an þ̅ þa land beon freohe ælces þeopdomes þe æfre of land arise. gode to lofe 7 sanctae Germane buton fyrdgun ane 7 gebedrædene for minre saple.

Anno dominicæ Incarnationis millesimo octodecimo scripta est huius munificentiae singrapha. his testibus consentientibus quorum nomina inferius caraxata esse uidentur.

- ✠ Ego Cnut totius brittanniae monarchus meae largitatis donum agiae crucis taumate roborau
- ✠ Ego liuingus doroborensis aecclesiae episcopus consensi et subscripsi
- ✠ Ego Wlfstan eboracensis aecclesiae archiepiscopus signo sanctae crucis subscripsi
- ✠ Ego Ælfgyfu regina humillimæ adiuui
- ✠ Ego Ælfsinus episcopus non rennui
- ✠ Ego brihtpold episcopus adqueiui
- ✠ Ego Æthelpine episcopus confirmaui
- ✠ Ego brihtpine episcopus consilium dedi
- ✠ Ego eadnoð episcopus consolidaui

✠ Ego burhpold episcopus conclusi
 ✠ þurcil dux
 ✠ Yrric dux
 ✠ Egillaf dux
 ✠ Ranig dux
 ✠ Æthelpeard dux
 ✠ Godpine dux
 ✠ Brihtpig abbas
 ✠ Æþelsige abbas
 ✠ brihtmæc abbas
 ✠ Ælfsige abbas
 ✠ Æluere abbas
 ✠ Æþelpold abbas
 ✠ þored minister
 ✠ Aslac minister
 ✠ Tobi minister
 ✠ Ælfgar minister
 ✠ Odda minister
 ✠ Ælfgar minister.

 XI (6 OF WANLEY).

CNUT.

STOC, STOKE CANON.

A.D. 1031.—This is an Exeter deed. It purports to be a grant by Cnut to his faithful thegn (minister) Hunuwine of one *mansa* called Stoc. The date is 1017, and the signatures are all in order. There seems no reason to doubt that this is in all respects a genuine coeval document. It was copied by Dr. Kennett, but has never hitherto been printed. The boundaries are identical with those of the reputed grant of the same lands by Æðelstan to the church of the monastery of St. Mary, Exeter, above described, No. 1. As that appears to be a late copy, it is not impossible that the boundaries of No. 1 were taken from this instrument. They may be identified with very tolerable exactness. As the former deed, No. 1, is printed by Kemble, these boundaries will be found at vol. iii, 411, of the *Codex*. They begin with Sulford. This is a ford a few yards above Thorverton Bridge on the Exe, and may have been used for transporting from one side of the river to the other the heavy suls or ploughs which were in use in those times. Whether or not, from this ford is probably

derived the name of the adjoining town, once a hundred, called Sulford tun, now Silverton. Two crosses, still *in situ*, mark two of the stations of this boundary. The lands lay in several modern parishes—Rew, Silverton, Hexham, Poltimore, Stoke Canon, and Netherexe. Hunuwine, apparently from his name a Danish follower of Cnut, was perhaps about to become, or did afterwards become, a monk of St. Mary's, Exeter. Risdon, p. 81, preserves the tradition of Cnut having given Stoke Canon to the church at Exeter. "Stoke", he says, "stands between the confluence of Ex and Culme, which, at such time as King Canute swayed the sceptre of this land, was by him given to the church of St. Peter, in Exon. A representation of him was in a window of the church, not long since" (*cir.* 1620) "to be seen, where he is figured in a glass, with a triple crown upon his head, the signal of his three kingdoms, with this inscription: Knondus Rex qui donavit hoc manerium Ecclesiæ Exon."

¶ ALTITHRONI moderatoris imperio triuiatim instruimur. Ut illi opido subiecti subpeditantes famulemur. Qui totius mundi fabricam mira ineffabilique disponens serie micocrosmum adam uidelicet tandem quadriformi plasmatum materia almo ad similitudinem sui instinctum spiramine. Uniuersisque in infimis formauerat uno probandi causa excepto uetitoque preficiens paradisiacæ amoenitatis iocunditate conlaterana eua scilicet comite decentissime collocauit. Laruarica pro dolor seductus cauillatione versipellis sua sibilisque tergiversatione uiraginis plectectus anathematis allogia ambro pomum momordit uetitum et sibi ac posteris in hoc erumoso deiectus seculo loetum promeruit perpetuum. Intacta igitur redolente christi diuinitate passaque ipsius humanitate libertas addictis clementer contigit seruulis. Hinc ego . CNUT . altithrono amminiculante anglorum ceterarumque gentium in circuitu triuiatim persistentium basileus . Ut huius dampnitatis altithroni moderatoris clementia merear optinere consortium . Quendam rustuli particulam unam mansam qui nuncupatur uocabulo stoc meo fideli ministro hunupine ob eternam futurae uitæ talionem cum omnibus utensilibus quæ deus coelorum in ipsa telluris superficie collocauit . pratis uidelicet . Pascuis . Siluis . perpetua largitus sum hereditate. Quatenus cuicumque post fragilis uite curriculum uoluerit heredi libenter habeat cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus aeternaliter in ius proprium potestatem tradendi. Sit autem prefatum rus quod ego cum obtinatum meorum consensu predicto largitus sum . Omni terrenæ seruitutis iugo solutum tribus uidelicet exceptis rata uidelicet expeditione pontis arcisue restauratione. Siquis uero tam epylempticus philargirie seductus amicitia quod non optamus hanc

nostre munificentie dampnsilitatem auso temerario infringere temptauerit . sit ipse alienatus a consortio sancte dei aecclesiae nec non et a participatione sacro sancti corporis et sanguinis ihesu christi fili dei per quem totus terrarum orbis ab antiquo humani generis inimico liberatus est et cum iuda christi proditore sinistra in parte deputatus . Ni prius hic digna satisfactione humilis penituerit quod contra sanctam dei aecclesiam rebellis egerè presumpsit . Nec in uita hac practica ueniam . Nec in theorica requiem apostata opetineat ullam . Sed eternis barathri incendiis trusus iugiter miserimus crucietur . Rura namque predicta istis terminis hinc inde circum iri uidetur .

Dis sind þære anre hide land gemære æt stoke Ærest of sulforda east andlang herepapes on culū þanon east rihte to langan forda þanon suð andlang streames oð culū lace andlang lace of þære lace upp to þære ealdan dic andlang þære dic on ceagga cumb þanon on cinges sloh þanon andlang peges to þam mægen stane . þanon sup þærða pegas to ligcað þanon on þone morþnystan hrige peg andlang hriges to þære eorð burh midde weardre þanon on brýdena pýll . þanon ut on exan . upp andlang exan oð scræpa leges lace 7 scræpa leg þærto þōn frā æpelstanes hāmes forda eft on sulford 7 .iiii. eceras bepestan exa forna gean edferðes eald land .

Anno ab incarnationis . Millesimo . xxxi scripta est . hujus munificentie singrapha . His testibus consentientibus quorum inferius nomina decussatim domino disponente carraxantur .

Ego CNUT brytannie totius anglorum monarchus hoc agie
crucis taumate roborauī

Ego æpelnoð dorobernenis ecclesie archiepiscopus eiusdem
regis principatum et beniuolentiam sub sigillo
sancte crucis conclusi

Ego ælgifo regina humillima adiuui

Ego ælfsige episcopus assensum prebui

Ego ælfrig episcopus dictando titulavi

Ego brihtpold episcopus dignum dixi

Ego ælmær episcopus confirmavi

Ego lyfinc episcopus consolidavi

Ego godpine dux

Ego sihtric dux

Ego hrani dux

Ego brihtmær abbas

Ego æpelperd abbas

Ego æpelpine abbas

Ego odda minister

Ego ordgar minister

Ego ælfgar minister

Ego leofsige minister

Ego eadmær minister

Ego æpelmær minister

Ego eadsige minister

Ego toki minister
 Ego toui minister
 Ego eadpine minister
 Ego dodda minister
 Ego ælfgar minister.

XII (11 OF WANLEY).

EADWARD.

DOFLISC, DAWLISH.

A.D. 1044.—This also is an Exeter deed. It is a grant by King Eadweard the Confessor, in 1044, to Leofric, his chaplain and chancellor (not Chancellor of England, as Prince and others have asserted), of vii manses at the place called Doflisc (*i.e.*, Dawlish). Two years afterwards, Leofric was raised to the see of Devonshire, then at Crediton; and four years after that, the see was transferred from Crediton to Exeter. The year of the Lord is given as of indiction XII, of the epact 18, of the concurrents 7, and as bissextile. These indications are all correct, and the names of the signatories present no difficulty. The deed is manifestly authentic. It is described by Wanley, but not criticised. Dr. Hickes does not notice it. It was first printed by Dr. Oliver, in his *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter* (1861) p. 8; but without the boundaries. These were printed for the first time by the present writer in a paper read before the Devon Association, at their Dawlish meeting in 1881. The boundaries correspond almost exactly with those of the parishes of East Teignmouth and Dawlish—East Teignmouth, under its ancient name of Holacumb, having been originally a chapel annexed to Dawlish. Territorially it afterwards became separated from Dawlish, and at the Domesday survey, whilst Dawlish remained the property of the see of Exeter, Holacumb, or East Teignmouth, had passed into the hands of Ralph de Pomerei. In the paper above referred to the subject is discussed in full (*Transactions of Devon Association*, xiii, 106).

¶ Regis cunctorum regum regimine reguntur omnia supera ima profundaue Cuius quoque immensa beniuolentia subinde quem sibi obtemperantem perspexerit et præsentiis locupletat habunde opibus et post istius misere uite decursum facit eum pennis angelicis

transcendere ad regna supernorum gaudiorum. Qui etiam solus voluntate aeterni patris disponit sceptrā iuraque regnorum . est nempe dux ducum rexque omnium proculdubio regum. Cuius rei autem gratia a nobis inchoatus sit hic donationis libellus consequenter manistabitur in precedente paginula. Igitur ego EADUARDUS opitulante potentissimo deo possidens totius monarchiam angelicæ necne et britanniæ telluris haud modice concedendo concessus sum cuidam meo idoneo capellano LEOFRICO onomate nuncupato quoddam rus in villa quæ ab incolis regionis illius vocitatur DOFLISC . scilicet . vii . mansos illimet ad arandum eo tenore quo omnibus diebus uitæ suæ absque aliqua machina sub illius honorifice regatur dominio atque potestate postque finem dierum illius . habeat potestatem cuicumque placuerit tribuendi aut erogandi. Præcepimus autem ut ante fatum rus sit liberum ab omni fiscali tributo uel uectigali . cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus tam in maximis quam in modicis rebus campis . pascuis . pratis . silvisque exceptis istis tribus expeditione pontis arcisque constructione. His itaque nobis prout debuimus ceuque placuit reuerentiæ nostræ et voluntati stabilitis . adhuc quod minime est obliuioni tradendum uolumus ut hic presens codicellus nostræ licentiæ scriptus . dampnet conculcet atque anathematizet cunctos emulorum siqui contra eundem reperti fuerint libellos. Siquis autem quod futurum minime autumo presumptione audaci instinctuque diabolico contra nostrum decretum hanc donationis karterulam adnuhilare uel pro nihilo ducere temptauerit . in primis quod grauius est iram dei omnipotentis genitricisque eius uidelicet almae et intactae mariae incurrat . dehinc meam omniumque satellitum meorum noscatque se obnoxium atque reum omnibus horis atque momentis solorum . fiatque pars illius cum dathan et abyron . cumque tortuoso beelzebub principe muscarum in bātrato inferiori . et quod indigne seu procaciter repetit non eum dicet sed cum dedecore multimodo expulsus sit a nobis nisi prius hic digna penitudine studuerit ultro non coactus emendare . Anno incarnationis dominicæ . m . xliiii . indictione . xii . epactaque . xviii . et concurrente . vii . scilicet bissextili anno . karaxata est hæc kartula gubernante piisimo anglorum cateruam rege feliciter EDUARDO.

Dys sindo þa landgemæro. Ærest on tege muðan upp andlang þæs fleotes on crampan steort. 7 spa eft on gean be þā sealternon on þa stræte on pest healfe michaheles ciricean. 7 spa norð andlang þære stræt on þā greatean dic. þanon norð eft ongerihte on þone blindan pill. of þā pille norð on gerihte on þone dunnan stán. þanon eft norð rihte on þa ealdan dic. 7 spa andlang þære dic norð on gerihte ofer þa 7 sceota cumb. þanon up andlang þære ealdan ræpe on þa stapulas. frā þā stapulon on gerihte andlang hricges on sand holcan. of sand holcan anglang strete on blacan penn. þanon andlang stræte on bradanmores heafdon. 7 þanon on gerihte andlang stræte oð eorð birig. 7 spa norð andlang stræte on stan beorh. 7 spa niðer andlang stræte on doflisc ford. 7 þanon norð of þā forða andlang þære port stræt on rise slædes heafdon. spa niðer andlang streames on

cocc ford 7 spa andlang þæs fleotes ut on exan . niðer eft andlang
exan þær sciter lacu ut scit . 7 spa up andlang sciter lace on þær
fleotes heafod . þanon siððan suð on þa ealdan dic . 7 spa on gerihte
to þā readan stane . of þā stane suð ut on þa sæ . spa pest be sæ
eft on tenge muðan.

Ego EADUWARDUS rex totius anglice gentis . hujus dona-
tionis libertatem hilari animo fieri concessi

Ego eadsinus christi aecclesiae archipresul corroborau

Ego ælfricus eboracensis aecclesiae archiepiscopus con-
solidaui

Ego lifingus crydianensis aecclesiae pontifex rogatus a
rege calomo scripsi

Ego æluuinus episcopus assensum prebui

Ego brihtuoldus episcopus confirmaui

Ego dodico episcopus consignaui

Ego ealdredus episcopus corroborau

Ego ælfuuinus abba nouae aecclesiae

Ego ægeluuardus abba glestoniensis aecclesiae

Ego æthelstanus abba

Ego uulfuueardus abba

Ego goduuinus abba

Ego goduuinus dux stabiliui

Ego leofricus dux

Ego suuegen dux

Ego sigeuuardus dux

Ego haroldus nobilis

Ego tosti nobilis

Ego leofuuinus nobilis

Ego odda nobilis

Ego ordgarus nobilis

Ego ælfgarus nobilis

Ego ordulfus nobilis

Ego dodda nobilis

Ego brihtricus nobilis

Ego osgodus minister

Ego ælfstanus minister

Ego ecglafus minister

Ego æthelmærus minister

Ego karl minister

Ego atsorus minister

Ego godricus minister

Ego ælfuuinus minister

Ego ulfeytel minister

Ego osmarus minister

Ego ecgulfus minister

Ego goduinus minister

Ego ælfricus minister

Ego æpelperdus minister

Ego pulfperdus minister

Ego æpelricus minister
 Ego liuingeus minister
 Ego uulfgarus minister
 Ego brihtwinus minister
 Ego uulfsige minister
 Ego þurkyl minister
 Ego toui minister
 Ego æpelpinus minister
 Ego þurstanus minister
 Ego ælfgeat minister
 Ego manni minister.

XIII (8 OF WANLEY).

EADWARD.

TREFWURABO, TRERABO.

A.D. 1059.—This is a Cornish instrument. It purports to be a grant by Eadward the Confessor to Bishop Aldred, of lands at four places, namely Trefwurabo, Trefualoc, Trefgrueð, and Trefdewig, being the same lands, enclosed by the same boundaries, as in the former grant by Eadweard the Elder to his thegn Æðelweard, No. ix above. Both scripts are manifestly copies.

Wanley describes this instrument. His only criticism is that there are no crosses prefixed to the names, except to that of King Eadward. Dr. Hickes does not mention it. The deed is copied but without boundaries, by Dr. Kennett; and has never been printed, hitherto.

The date of this instrument is given as A.D. 1059, with which the indiction, XII, agrees. The epact is given as fifteen, which is proper for 1060, not for 1059. If we were at liberty to assume (which it is to be feared we are not) that the year of the Lord, with the indiction, ran to the 25th of March, the year of the epact beginning with the 1st of January, these dates might be reconciled, supposing the gemot at which the grant was made to have been held between 1st January and 25th of March 1060. The remarkable circumstance is that these lands, presumably then belonging to the Cornish see, should have been granted to Aldred, then Bishop of Worcester. But this is by no means unexampled. Aldred or Ealdred, a monk of Winchester, succeeded to Lyfing as Abbot of Tavistock, when Lyfing was raised to the see of Crediton, afterwards annexing also the sees of Cornwall and

Worcester. Upon Lyfing's death in 1046, Ealdred was made Bishop of Worcester. As successor, therefore, to Lyfing, he may have laid claim to this property, just as afterwards, according to William of Malmesbury (*De Pont.*, iii, § 115, p. 251), "taking advantage of the simplicity of King Edward, and alleging a custom of his predecessors, which he supported by bribery rather than legal proof, he obtained the archbishopric of York, without relinquishing his former see". This translation to York took place on the 25th of December 1060. It further appears from *Domesday*, 103 (4), that after 1066, Ealdred still retained the manors of Deveneberie (Danebury), and Welle (Coffinswell) in Devon, which he had held as abbot of Tavistock. Instances also of his spoliation of the church of Gloucester are cited by Mr. Freeman;¹ so that this grant of lands in Cornwall is not unlikely to be authentic. It will be observed that amongst the signatories to this charter are the Tostig and Gerth who afterwards accompanied Ealdred to Rome, "after his pallium", A.S., *sub. ann.*, 1061.

Archbishop Ealdred died on the 11th of September 1069. No mention by name of these lands occurs in *Domesday*, and it is possible that they were included under the general designation of Lannachebran, 121 (2), or Enclosure of the church of St. Keverne, which was then in the possession of the Canons of St. Achebran, or St. Keverne. Subsequent dealings with the same lands will be found recorded in Oliver.² They finally became part of the possessions of St. Michael's Mount, and so fell under the jurisdiction of the Prior of Otterton, Devon, as steward in this country of St. Michael in Peril of the Sea, in Normandy, to which the Cornish Mount was a cell.

✠ Cum diuinae maiestatis potentia. secundum uelle crearet omnia. hominisque speciem. ad suam crearet imaginem. inuidus omnium bonorum. succinctus fraude malorum. ipsius hominis esse. suae malignitatis penitus deprauauit posse. Sed misericors condolens fragilitati. se ipsum subegit humanitati. quatenus futurorum prescius liberaret per semetipsum. quod ipse omnium malorum radix illexit ad interitum. Huius rei memores. nos nostrique consimiles. ei persoluamus gratias. ut oportet perpetuas. qui nos libertati. dedit et saluti. Unde dignum ducimus de bonis temporalibus quae concessit

¹ *N. C.*, vol. ii, note.

² *Mon.*, 31, 414.

dominus . uite suffragari . ueniamque mereri . sic diuidentes transitoria . ut dum defecerimus recipiamur in aeterna tabernacula . quum uelud umbra quae modo uidentur transibunt omnia . Qua propter ego . EADPEARD rex anglorum . eorumque confinium . nutu dei compunctus . totiusque regni monarchia functus . optimatum consilio . cuidam fidei meo episcopo nomine aldredo quandam partem telluris trado . id est . trefpurabo . et trefualoc . trefgrueð . et trefdepig . cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus . campis . siluis . pratis . piscariisque . liberam ab omni regali censu . excepta expeditione . arcisue munimine . eo tenore . ut perpetua possideat hereditate . dumque uniuersae carnis uiam intrauerit . cuicumque libeat . perpetuo possidendam relinquat . Acta est autem haec donatio anno millesimo . lvi. . ab incarnatione domini . indictionis . xii . epacte . xv . his testibus consentientibus quorum nomina infra sunt prenotata . Pis is seo landscaru to trefpurabo . ærest æt pollcerr . ðenne be þære dic 7 lang peges . þon of pā pege on ða lytlan dic . on easthealfē peges to pollhæscen . adune be þam broce to rytcendeurion . þonne be ðam broce to carn nyþbran . to deumæn coruan þanon 7 lang peges to cruedraenoc . þanon to carrec pynn . 7 eft ðanon to pollcerr . Pis is se landscaru to trefualoc . ærest to þære dic . þoñ frā dice adune to ðam broce of ðam broce to crousprach . 7 lang peges on ða dic . þanon to mainbip . to crucmur . þanon to carn plicet . 7 lang ðære to ðan broce . ðanon 7 lang stremes oð tnoppetær eft be dære ðic . Pis is seo landscaru to crucepæþ ærest æt nantbuorðtel . 7 lang stremes oð lenbrun . þanon to cestelmerit . þanon pest to pucopgenidor pest 7 lang dic oð broc . þanon to fonton morgeonec . þanon adune to broce . ðær hit æt fruman pæs . Pis is seo landscaru to trefdæpig . ærest æt penheal meglar suð to þam pege þanon to ðam forða on gerihte to erlipet . þanon forð 7 lang stremes to lyncenin . ðanon up to penhal meglar .

Ego EADPEARD rex anglorum hanc donationem cum triumpho agiae crucis impressi

Ego Stigandus archiepiscopus christi aecclesiae confortauit

Ego Kynsinus archiepiscopus eboracensis aecclesiae consensi

Ego Leofricus episcopus exoniensis aecclesiae confirmauit et subscripsi

Ego Dodica episcopus assensum prebui

Ego Alfpoldus episcopus testis fui

Ego Ælfpinus abbas consolidavi

Ego Ægelnoðus abbas corroboravi

Ego Haraldus dux

Ego Ælfgar dux

Ego Tostig dux

Ego Leofpine dux

Ego Gerð dux

Ego Byrhticus nobilis

Ego dodda minister

Ego ordulf minister
 Ego ælfric minister
 Ego æglpard minister
 Ego leofnoð minister
 Ego pulfnoð minister
 Ego leofpine minister
 Ego Eadmær minister.

Huius uero predii donationem optamus et uolumus esse perpetuam . et omni contradictione securam . neque christianum se fateatur . qui eam infringere conatur . et si quis in hoc consenserit . quod absit . penarum ultionibus sit ab istis testibus tamdiu addictus . quoadusque per ignem urentem . debiti huius persoluat nouissimum quadrantem .

XIV (5 OF WANLEY).

WILLIAM.

BEMTUN, BAMPTON (OXFORDSHIRE).

A.D. 1069.—This is also an Exeter deed. It purports to be a grant by William, “the victorious king of the English”, to his faithful bishop, Leofric, of vii manses of land in different (*priuatis*) localities, namely Bemtun, Eastun, Ceommanyg, and Holacumb; to be by him granted “to the church of St. Peter the Apostle, in Exeter, where his episcopal see is, for the better support of the canons.” Afterwards there is a grant, at the command of King William, by Bishop Leofric, of the same land, to the church of St. Peter, Exeter. Bemtun is Bampton in Oxfordshire; and Eastun and Ceommanyg are now Easton and Chimney, hamlets in Bampton parish. Holacumb is the manor which afterwards became East Teignmouth, Devon. The Oxfordshire lands which, as the charter informs us, had been formerly granted by King Eadwig to the convent at Bampton, were now, by the king’s command, conveyed by Leofric to the church at Exeter. The Devonshire manor was voluntarily conveyed by Leofric himself, having been already vested in him by the grant of King Eadweard in 1044, No. xii above; but, requiring by feudal theory, to be surrendered to the Conqueror, was now re-granted by him to the Bishop.

This important deed is described by Wanley. Dr. Hickes also prints it at length, but in a later part of

his letter, at pp. 77, 78, in order to illustrate his statement that William the Conqueror, although he introduced considerable novelties into the art of charter-writing, yet sometimes adopted the English mode, as in this rare example, which preserves the English handwriting, language, signs of the cross before the signatures, and *labarum* at the beginning. Dr. Kennett also copied it. Dr. Oliver, in his *Lives of the Bishops*, p. 10, printed it, but without the boundaries. It was again printed in full in the paper above referred to, read at Dawlish by the present writer in 1881.

The boundaries exhibit several points of interest. In the Bampton boundary the Thames is referred to as the boundary between Wessex and Mercia. Along with the Oxfordshire lands are granted "all the tithes of the King". Then follow the boundaries of the one hide and yard and a half of land at Holacumb, which are partly coincident with those of Dawlish above, and agree inexactly with the boundaries of the present parish of East Teignmouth. In the original, the first line, as far as "hominem", is written in capitals.

ᚻ Mundo accrescentia mala. minantur etiam mundi appropinquare excidia. et beatius est hominem mortalem illuc mentis passibus tendere. ubi post finem hujus uite beatis datur perenniter uiuere. Hoc enim uiuere beatissimum oportet regem christianum omni mentis conamine sibi alacriter emere. quia miserabile est regem hoc seculo coronari. et in futuro aeternis poenis mancipari. Haec uero uigili mente intuens. his quoque ne succumbam precauens. EGO WILHELMUS uictoriosus anglorum basileus concessi fidelem meum LEOFRICUM episcopum septem mansos terrae in priuatis locis. hoc est apud BEMTUN. et ESTTUN. et CEOMMANYG. ac HOLACUMB. aecclesiae sancti PETRI apostoli in exonia ubi eius episcopalis sedes est donare et. canicorum eiusdem aecclesiae uictum ampliare hereditario iure. tam in magnis quam in modicis rebus ad se rite pertinentibus uidelicet. agris. siluis. pratis. pascuis. cultis et incultis. exitibus et redditibus. eo tenore ac concessu. ut prefata terra ab omni censu sit libera. excepta expeditione. pontis ac urbis constructione et restauratione. Siquis autem quod absit diabolo instigante meum regalem concessum presumat euertere. et beneficia predictae aecclesiae et canonicis data detrahare. uel in aliquo minuere. nisi conuersus reddendo et dupliciter restituendo sanctae dei aecclesiae satisfaciat. in resurrectione beatorum diuina uoce damnatus fiat socius omnium demoniorum. Anno dominicae incarnationis MILLESIMO. LXVIII. consentiente WILHELMO rege. data est haec terra aecclesiae sancti PETRI

apostoli in exonia ciuitate a uenerabili presule LEOFRICO sub testimonio eorum qui subscripti sunt.

Dis synd þa landgemæro þæs landes þe eadpig cyning ageaf þam halgan pere æt bemtune . 7 þam hyrede . 7 siððan leofric . b . be pillhelses cynges unnan . let gebocyan into sçe petres mynstre on exancestre. Ærest þær ceoman lace ut scýt . andlang ceoman lace þ hit cýmeð on temese . anlang temese pestpard . spa . pestsexena gemære is 7 myrcena . þ hit cýmeð up to ðam gemyðan . þonne pent hit on ða norðeran ea . þ hit cýmeð to anre lace . betpix berhtulfig yge . 7 hrisyge þ on ða norð ea . þ anlang þære ea . þ hit cýmeð eft to ceoman lace . 7 þ land æt cyngbrycege norð andlang broces þ hit cýmð þær holanbroc ut scytt . andlang broces up to þam pege be norðan cynstanes treope . andlang peges to fulan broces heafdon . andlang broces on þa stanbricege . of þære stanbricege andlang peges on burgdyc . andlang dyc on þone broc . andlang broces eft on cyngbricege . á onecnisse into sçe petres mynstre on exancestre . 7 ealle þa teoðunga þæs cyninges. ✠ Þis synd þa langemæro þære anre hyde 7 þære oðerhealfan gyrde æt holacumbe þe læg into doflisc þe leofric . b . let gebocyan for his saple into sçe petres mynstre on exancestre. Ærest on crampanteort . of crampanteorte on floraheafdo 7 of floraheafdo up on þone peg be pesta ðære cyrcan up to þa ferngara . of þam ferngara to þam dunnastane . of ðam dunnastane up to þære dyc . 7 spa east andlang þære dyc to þan pætere of þam pætere norð on þæs crohtes heafod 7 spa norð on þa smala paðe spa on dun to þære þpirs dic 7 spa to dofolisces landscore adun to arietes stane 7 spa andlang strandes to crampanteorte.

Ego WILHELMUS dei gratia rex anglorum hanc donationem perpetuae memoriae mandauit

Ego MAHTHILDA regina adiui

Ego STIGANDUS archiepiscopus christi aecclesiae confirmavi

Ego ODO episcopus consolidauit

Ego HERMANNUS episcopus corroborauit

Ego LEOFRICUS episcopus concessi et subscripsi

Ego GOSFREDUS episcopus consensi

Ego GYSO episcopus assensum prebui

Ego WILHELMUS episcopus confortauit

Ego BALDUUINUS abbas dignum dixi

Ego RODBERTUS comes

Ego Wilhelmus comes

Ego Brient comes

Ego Eduuinus comes

Ego Morkerinus comes

Ego Raulfus comes

Ego Arfastus cancellarius

Ego Angelricus presbiter

Ego WILHELMUS uicecomes

Ego Rodbertus uicecomes

Ego Roggerius uicecomes
Ego Leofnoðus minister
Ego Ricardus minister
Ego Folco minister
Ego Hugo minister
Ego Raulfus minister

XV (NOT IN WANLEY).

This is a set of boundaries such as were kept loose in the libraries of monasteries where deeds were prepared, ready to be inserted in charters, after the grants of the lands conveyed had been ratified by gemots and councils.

The title of this set of boundaries is as follows:—
“This is Padingtun’s boundary of the Ashburn outfall”—meaning, presumably, “These are the boundaries at the outfall of the Ashburn, prepared by Padingtun.” The Ashburn is a rivulet falling into the river Dart, just opposite to Buckfastleigh church. On it, about two miles above the outfall, was founded at the original settlement of Saxons in the county, a “tun” or town, in conformity with universal Devonshire practice, where every river has its “tun”. The name of this town, Ashburntun, became Ashburton. The boundary begins at the point where the Ashburn falls into the Dart, and follows that river upwards, to the infall of the Withiburn brook, now called the East Webber. This it follows upwards to a manor called Dunstone, in the parish of Withicomb-in-the Moor, thence to Hamilton Down, and so to Langston in Manaton parish, thence to Lustleigh Cleave, and so by Ramshorn Down and the Ogwell river, back to the Ashburn rivulet. The area comprised is about ten miles long from south to north, and about six from west to east, having Heytor Rock and Rippon Tor in its centre. The parishes included are, Ashburton, Buckland-in-the-Moor, and the whole or parts of Withicomb-in-the-Moor, Manaton, Lustleigh, Bovey Tracy, Ilsington, Bickington, West Ogwell, Woodland, and Staverton.

John Padyngton was the name of the steward, in about 1310, of Bishop Stapledon, a great benefactor to Ashburton, then part of the possessions of the see. Padyngton was, indeed, slain by his master’s side, when

Stapledon was murdered in Cheapside on the 15th of October 1326. It may possibly be that this John Padyngton was a descendant of Peadingtun of the boundary. The document itself, one supposes, must be centuries older than 1310 ; nor did this tract of land, or anything like it, belong to the Bishop of Exeter at any date after the conquest. In 1086 (*Domesday* does not state who held the lands T. R. E.), the only parts of this area belonging to the see were Ashburton and Staverton. It is possible that at some date prior to the Conquest, this area belonged to Exeter ; but this could not have been the case at King Eadward's death, and there is no proof of the fact known to the writer ; and no evidence, beyond the existence of an ancient boundary stone in a lane in Lustleigh parish, standing on this actual boundary, which is traditionally stated to have had carved upon it the arms of the see of Exeter. As bishops, before the Conquest, certainly did not bear arms in the modern sense, it is clear that the tradition does not preserve a literal fact. It serves only to show *some* possible connection between the stone and the bishops of Exeter.

This strip of Anglo-Saxon boundaries was known to John Hooker, the Chamberlain of Exeter, member for the city in 1571, and historian of the city and county ; but he was led into a most extraordinary misconception of its meaning, in which he was followed by Risdon and Westcote. For a full examination of this remarkable delusion, the reader is referred to a paper by the present writer in the *Proceedings of the Devon Association* for 1876 (viii, 396).

pis is peading tunes landscaro þær æschburne ut scyt . on dertan stream od pedeburne ut scyt . up an pedeburnan oþ þrīsmor of pidi more on cealfa dune middepearde of cealfa dune of sufonstanas . of sufonstanū on hyfan treop . on hyfan treope on hord burh . of hordbyrg on deorford . of deorforda on langastan . of langastane on eofede tor . of eofede torre on hean dune forepearde . of heandune on þone blindan pille . of ȝam pille on pritelanstan . of þa stane on rupa beorh . of rupan beorge on fyrspenn . of fyrspenne on pyrtcumes heafod . of pyrtcumes heafde on rammeshorn . of rammeshorne on lulca stile . of lulca stile on pice cumes heafod . on lymenstream oþ poggapill lacu utscyt . on þa lace oð poggapilles hafod . of poggapilles heafde on þone peg oð þa greatan dic oþ þere dic on þone pille on þæs mores heafod . on þa lace to þære speliende . of ȝære speliende on yederes

beorh of iederes beorge on standun [niðe]pearde oþ þa gretan linde.
of þære linde on dyrasnæd middepearne. of dyrasnæde on hpita ford.
on hpita forda on fulanford. of fulanforda on hildesford. of hildes-
forda on hildes lege norðepearde of sole get. of solegete to brynes
cnolle suðepearðū on punecespurði. of puneces purpige on hremnes
cumes heafod. of hremnes cumbe on þa riðe oð æscburnan. þanon on
stream to dertan.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS.

No.	No. in Wanley's Catalogue, <i>Hicks</i> , iii, 281	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Locality	Page in <i>Hicks</i> , iv. Diss. Epist.	Page in Lansdowne MSS. No. 968 (Bp. Kennett)	No. in K., C. D.	Vol. and page in K., C. D.	Page in Oliver, <i>Lives</i> of the Bishops
I	13	938	Æthelstan	St. Mary, Exeter	Stoke Canon	6	—	371	{ ii, 207	—
II	7	938	—	St. Mary, Exeter	Culmstock	6	—	373	{ iii, 411	—
III	4	938	—	St. Petrock, Bodmin	Newton Petrock	—	70	—	{ ii, 209	—
IV	3	960	Eadgar	Eanulf	Tywarnhayle	—	69	—	—	—
V	2	963	—	Æthelnoth	Clyst wicon	—	—	—	—	—
VI	9	967	—	Wulfnoth	Lesmanaoc	—	—	—	—	—
VII	96	969	—	Ælfheah	Lannmoren	6	—	534	{ iii, 11	—
VIII	1	976	Eadweard	Ælfrig	Hyles Eald Land	—	—	—	—	—
IX	86	977	—	Æthelweard	Trefwurabo	—	—	—	—	—
X	10	1018	Cnut	Bp. Burhwold	Landerhtun	—	75	728	{ iv, 2	—
XI	6	1031	—	Hunuwine	Stoke Canon	—	72b	—	—	—
XII	11	1044	Eadweard	Leofric	Doflisc	—	—	—	—	8
XIII	8	1059	—	Bp. Baldred	Trefwurabo	—	74	—	—	—
XIV	5	1069	William	Bp. Leofric	Bampton	77	70b	—	—	10
XV	—	—	—	—	(Boundaries)	—	—	—	—	—

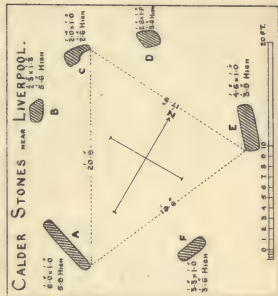
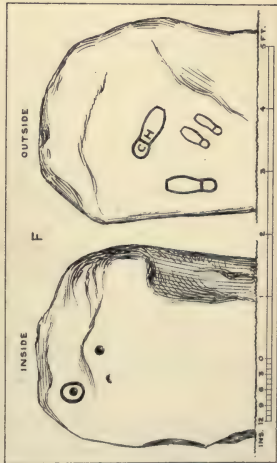
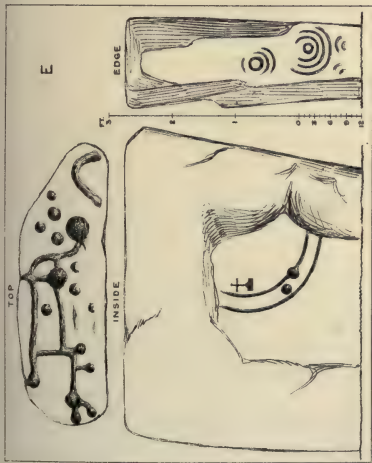
ON THE CIRCLE OF STONES AT CALDER-STONES, NEAR LIVERPOOL.

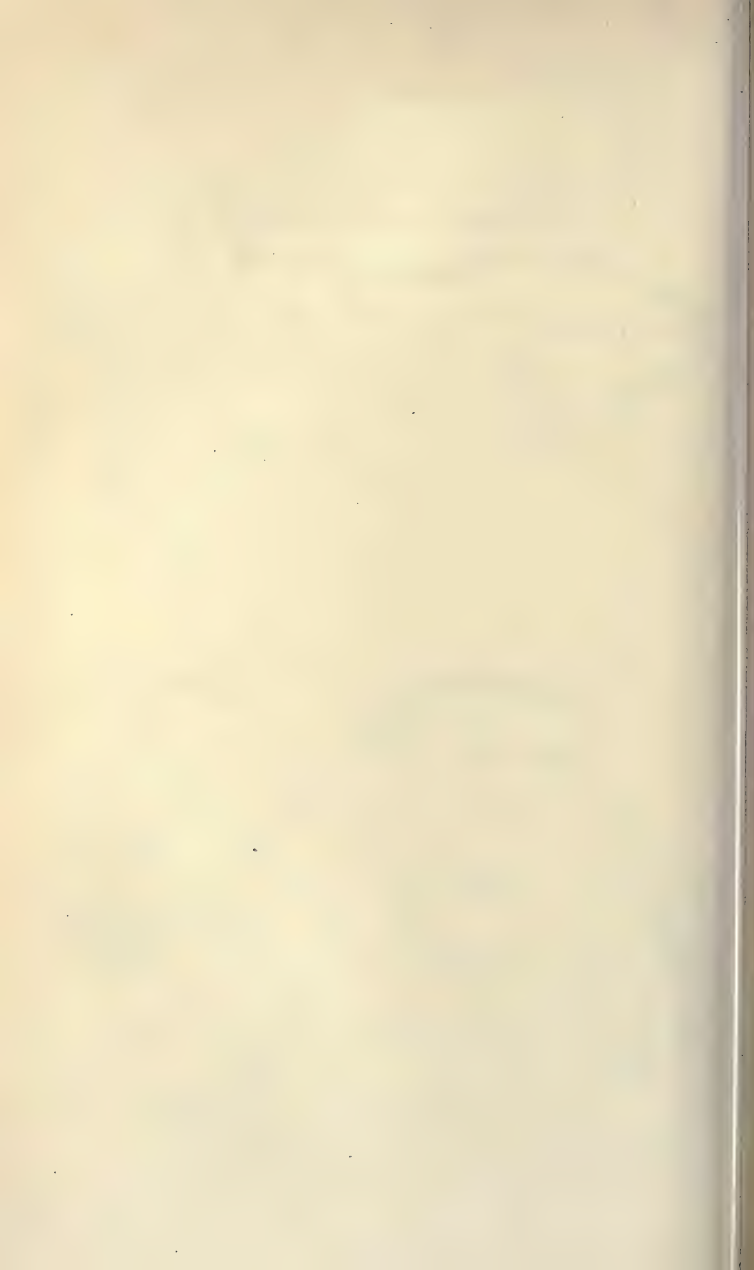
BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read June 6, 1883.)

THE following paper contains a description of the circle of stones at Calderstones, near Liverpool, with notes upon the cup-markings and other sculpturings which occur upon the stones. As far as I am aware, the only previous notice of this remarkable monument is in a paper read before the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, by the late Sir James Simpson, on the 12th of January 1865.¹ The two pages of illustrations which accompany his paper, accurate as far as they go, are mere sketches, and several of the sculpturings are omitted; the probable reason of this being that, as Sir James Simpson remarks, "the day on which I visited these stones was dark and wet. On a brighter and more favourable occasion, perhaps, some additional markings may be discovered." The Calderstones, which give the name to the locality, are situated four miles south-east of Liverpool, between Wavertree and Much Woolton. They now occupy a position in the centre of the roadway, just opposite the gateway of a private residence. About twenty years ago the late Mr. Walker had the circle of stones enclosed within a handsome iron railing, by which it is effectually protected from damage. Some fir trees have been planted within the enclosure, and the whole now forms a most picturesque and pleasing object in the view. Acts of Vandalism are at present so common, and attempts to preserve our ancient monuments so rare, that I am glad to be able to record such a successful effort to stem the tide of destruction as that made by Mr. Walker. There are still hundreds of prehistoric remains in this country liable to be swept off the face of the earth at any moment because no one will spend a few pounds in fencing them in.

¹ "On the Cup-Cuttings and Ring-Cuttings on the Calderstones, near Liverpool," by Professor J. Y. Simpson, M.D. (Edinburgh), Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in the *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. for 1865, p. 267.





The Calderstones Circle averages 23 feet in external diameter, and consists of six stones marked A, B, C, D, E, F, on plan. Stone C, which is the smallest, was prostrate when Sir James Simpson visited the place, but it has since been re-erected. The stones are all of the new red sandstone of the district, much disintegrated by the weather. The sizes of the stones are as follow :—A, 6 ft. by 1 ft., and 5 ft. 9 ins. high ; B, 2 ft. 3 ins. by 1 ft. 3 ins., and 5 ft. 6 ins. high ; C, 2 ft. by 1 ft., and 2 ft. 6 ins. high ; D, 2 ft. 8 ins. by 1 ft. 8 ins., and 3 ft. 6 ins. high ; E, 4 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft., and 3 ft. 9 ins. high ; F, 3 ft. 3 ins. by 1 ft., and 3 ft. 6 ins. high.

The carvings I believe to be of three different dates, the oldest being the cup-markings of the prehistoric period ; next, footprints and crosses of mediæval date ; and lastly, footprints and initials executed in modern times. The following is a detailed description of the sculpturings.

Stone A.—Upon the inside¹ face are cut three cups, ranging in diameter from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins.,—one spiral ; and three sets of concentric rings without a central cup. Upon the outside face are cut thirty-six cups, ranging in diameter from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and one set of four concentric rings without a central cup. Upon the narrow edge, facing the east, are cut three cups ; and on the western edge, six cups, ranging in diameter from 2 to 3 ins.

Stone B.—On the inside face is cut a set of two or three concentric rings without a central cup, and outside this are traces of grooves running diagonally ; but the stone is so much weathered that it is impossible to make out the carvings with certainty. At the top of this face is a long vertical gutter which may either have been produced by the rain-water running down from the top, or may, perhaps, be partly artificial. There is a similar groove along the narrow, sloping edge at the top, terminating in a cup. On the outside face are cut two or three cups.

Stone C.—This stone has no artificial markings upon it.

Stone D.—Upon the outside faces are cut a spiral of three turns : one set of two concentric rings, and another

¹ Outside and inside refers to whether the face looks towards the outside or inside of the circle.

set of three concentric rings, there being no central cup in either case. The carvings upon the inside faces are much more distinct than those upon the outside, and consist of one set of double concentric rings without a central cup, and five cups, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, arranged like the spots on playing dice. Besides these archaic sculptures are two footprints of naked feet and a cross, which I assume to be of mediæval date. The whole of the latter figures are slightly incised, and the tool-marks very clear.

Stone E.—Upon the inside face are cut two circular grooves of large diameter, and two cups. There is also an incised cross, probably mediæval. Upon the narrow edge are cut one set of three concentric rings, and one set of four concentric rings, having no central cup in either case. There are below the latter traces of two other sets of rings. Upon the top of the stone are cut about fifteen cups, ranging from 2 to 5 ins. in diameter, and connected in most cases by gutters.

Stone F.—Upon the inside are cut a cup with surrounding ring, and two other cups. Upon the outside are cut four footprints, and the initials C. H., probably carved in recent times. I have thought these footprints worth remarking upon, because the practice of sculpturing them seems to be a survival from prehistoric times, as will be seen from the following remarks.

SCULPTURES OF FOOTPRINTS.

The custom of carving impressions of the human feet upon rocks and boulders is one which has existed from a very early period, and is spread over a large geographical area. There are two methods of sculpture: 1, one where the outline only is indicated; and 2, where the whole figure is incised. There are also different modes of representation: 1, where the sole of the naked foot is shown; 2, where the sole of a shoe or sandal appears. I propose to classify sculptured footprints with regard to the period of their execution and the geographical area over which they are distributed, as follows: 1, prehistoric carvings of footmarks found in France, Denmark, and Sweden, probably of the bronze age; 2, carvings of footmarks found on stones of inauguration in Scotland and Ireland;

3, carvings of footmarks of the mediæval period in England, France, Italy, etc., probably Christian; 4, carvings of footmarks on leads of church towers, etc., executed in modern times, and possibly merely a survival of an old custom; 5, carvings of footmarks in India, China, and other eastern countries, used as objects of worship.

1. *Prehistoric Footprints*.—On the west coast of Brittany, at the mouth of the river which flows through Auray, is a dolmen bearing sculptures of footprints: It is described thus by Mr. Lukis: "The tumulus of Petit Mont is about 30 feet in elevation, and when explored in 1865 was found to enclose a chamber formed of seven supports. Here are also sculptures, and on one of the supports is a representation of a right and left human foot, traced in outline, as one is accustomed to see shoe-marks and hands on the roofs of churches in England. There are also drawings of stone axes in their handles."¹ Dr. Closmadeuc, of Vannes, who gives an engraving of the stone referred to, in his work on the subjects, states that the footprints are carved in low relief, and not in outline, as stated by Mr. Lukis.² The prints are those of naked feet, the five toes being clearly indicated. Round the feet are a series of zigzag lines, and higher up the stone appears to be another footprint.

On the south-west coast of Sweden, in Bohuslan, are to be found the finest series of prehistoric sculptures in Europe, executed on granite rocks polished by glacial action. These have been fully illustrated and described by Axel-Holmberg in his *Skandinaviens Hällristningar*, and in the *Report of the International Congress of Archaeology*, held in Stockholm in 1874.

Engraved footprints occur in a very large number of instances in connection with cup-markings, representations of ships, figures of men, etc. Captain Thomas, in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, says,³ "Footmarks and footprint-figures are also known

¹ *A Guide to the principal Chambered Barrows and other Prehistoric Monuments in the Morbihan, Brittany*. By W. C. Lukis. P. 32. Ripon, 1865.

² *Sculptures Lapidaires et Signes Gravés des Dolmens dans le Morbihan*. Par M. le Docteur Closmadeuc, p. 49 and pl. 10. Vannes, 1873

³ Quoting from *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1875, p. 418. See *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xiii, p. 45.

in Denmark. At Sonderby Mark, Horns Herred, Frederiksborg Amt, there is a remarkable long barrow. On two of the roof-stones are the usual cups; and on the third there are two non-corresponding footmarks (for they are both left feet) by the side of each other."

Carvings of footprints which can be referred with certainty to the prehistoric period, are rare in this country, although now that attention has been called to the subject, doubtless more may be found. Captain Thomas, in the paper just mentioned, however, describes two found in Scotland which would come under this head. He says: "About 1831, when the 'Fairy Knowe' in the parish of Carmyllie, Forfarshire, was being reduced or removed, in the course of agricultural improvement, there was found, besides stone cists and a bronze ring, a rude boulder of about two tons weight, on the under side of which was scooped the representation of a human foot. Mr. Jervise further notes that a small undressed block of granite lies by the side of the mountain stream of the Tunnet, in Glenesk, near Lord Dalhousie's shooting lodge of Millden, and upon it the figure of a human foot, of small size, is very correctly and prettily scooped out. This is called 'the fairy's footmark.'"¹

There is in the British Museum a stone with the outline of a single footprint carved upon it, from Harbottle Peels, Coquetdale, co. Northumberland. It formed the side of a cist which contained an unburned skeleton and an urn. From the Greenwell Collection.

2. *Footprints on Stones of Inauguration.*—A stone of inauguration is one such as was used in former times by the Celtic peoples for celebrating the election of a new king or chieftain. The best known example is the stone which was taken from the Scotch at the end of the reign of King Edward I, and now forms the seat of the coronation-chair in Westminster Abbey. Two very valuable sources of information exist on this subject: 1, an article "On Ancient Stone Chairs and Stones of Inauguration", by Richard Rolt Brash, which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1865; and 2, a paper on "Dunadd, Glassany, Argyllshire, the place of inauguration of

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xiii, p. 38, and *Kilkenny Arch. Journ.*, vol. v, p. 451.

the Dalriadic Kings", by Captain F. W. L. Thomas, R.N., in vol. xiii of the *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* The stone of inauguration appears either to have formed the seat of a stone chair upon which the king elect sat during the coronation ceremony, or to have been simply placed on the ground for him to stand on. In the latter case there were generally footprints cut in the stone, in which the king placed his feet after having removed his shoes. The stones of inauguration were naturally held in great veneration, and occupied a position in some well known and conspicuous situation in the territory over which the chieftain presided. The places of inauguration of most of the Irish chieftains are mentioned in history, and recognised even at the present day. The following are extracts from Mr. Brash's article. Spencer's *View of Ireland* was originally published in 1596. It is in the form of a dialogue between Eudoxius and Irenæus, and contains a curious passage in reference to the present subject. It will be found at p. 10 of the Dublin edition of 1809, and is as follows :

"*Iren.* It is a custom amongst all the Irish that presently after the death of any of their chiefe lordes or captaines, they doe presently assemble themselves to a place generally appointed, and known unto themselves, to choose another in his steed, where they doe nominate and elect for the most part, not the eldest sonne, nor any of the children of the lord deceased, but the next to him of blood; that is, the eldest and worthiest, as commonly the next brother unto him, if he have any, or the next cousin, or so forth, as any is elder in that kindred or sept; and then next to him doe they choose the next of blood to be the Tanist, who shall succeed him in the said captaincy, if he live thereunto."

"*Eudox.* Doe they not use any ceremony in this election? For all barbarous nations are commonly great observers of ceremonies and superstitious rites.

"*Iren.* They use to place him that shal be their captaine upon a stone always reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon a hill; in some of which I have seen formed and engraven a foot, which they say was the measure of their first captaine's foot, whereon he standing receives the oath to preserve all the ancient former customes of the countrey inviolable, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to his Tanist; and then a wand delivered unto him by some whose proper office that is. After which, descending from the stone, he turneth himself round, thrice forward and thrice backward."

One remarkable custom in this ceremony was the putting on of the shoe or sandal, and which is occasionally referred to by the compilers of the *Annals of the Four Masters*. Thus, at A.D. 1468,—

"Donough O'Connor (*i.e.*, O'Connor Roe) died at an advanced age, and after a well spent life; and Felim Finn O'Connor was inaugurated in his place by O'Donnel Mac William and Mac Dermot (O'Connor) in as meet a manner as any lord had for some time been nominated; and his *shoe* was put on him by Mac Dermot."

There is also another reference to this custom under date 1461. It is evident from these passages, that in taking his place on the sacred stone of inauguration, the chief put off his shoes or sandals, and that either his own or one specially used for the occasion was placed on his foot, as a token of submission of fealty, by the installing noble. It is also stated by the learned author of *Hy Fiacrach*, that he threw a shoe or slipper over the new chieftain's head as a spell of good luck or prosperity to his reign.

These shoe customs are evidently of eastern origin.¹ Martin, in his *Description of the Western Isles*, gives some account of the inauguration of the ancient kings of the Hebrides on an island in Loch Finlagan, in Islay. He writes: "There was a big stone, 7 feet square, in which there was made a deep impression to receive the feet of Mc Donald; for he was crowned king of the Isles, standing on this stone."

Having shown, by the above extracts, the nature of the ceremony of the inauguration of a Celtic chieftain, it now remains to give a description of the stones and rocks still existing in Scotland and Ireland, with footprints cut upon them, which may have been used for such a purpose. These are chiefly derived from Capt. Thomas' paper, before referred to, and are as follow.

Dunadd, Argyllshire.—Within the fortification of Dunadd, and near the highest point of the hill, is to be found a footprint cut in the rock, which Capt. Thomas thinks was used for the inauguration of the Dalriadic kings. It is 11 ins. long by $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide across the toes, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide across the heel, and incised half an inch.²

Clikamin, Shetland.—The Rev. J. Maxwell Joass says: "On one of the slabs forming a causeway through the loch, by which the broch of Clikamin is reached, there occur two incised figures of human feet. They are right and left, about 1 inch apart, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long. The great

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xiii, p. 31.

² See Ruth, iv, 7, 8; Deut., xxv, 9, 10; Exod., iii, 5; Joshua, v, 15.

toes are indicated separately, and the figures are depressed about one-tenth of an inch."¹

Bracon, North Yell, Shetland.—Capt. Thomas states that "Mr. Anderson informs me that in the parish of North Yell, Shetland, on the hill-side, above the hill-dyke of Bracon, is the stone containing the 'Giant's Step', of which the other is said to be over in Uist. The mark of the 'Rivellined' foot is pretty clear."²

Berwick, South Ronaldshay.—The following description will be found in *A Tour through the Islands of Orkney and Shetland in 1774*, by Geo. Low, new edition, with introduction by J. Anderson (Kirkwall, 1879), p. 25 :

"In Lady Kirk, at Burwick, saw a large stone which tradition says St. Magnus used as a boat to ferry him over the Pightland Firth, and for its service laid up in this church, where it is still preserved. Its shape is boat-like; but that it ever served that purpose is of the complexion of many other monkish stories which in times past were greedily swallowed by the unthinking vulgar. This stone is about 4 ft. long and 2 broad, about 8 ins. thick; seems to have been taken from the sea-beach, where many such are still to be found; has engraved on it the prints of a man's feet, which probably furnished the first hint for the miraculous use of it, and may point out the true one, which there is little doubt it was a stone appropriated to expose delinquents at the church in times of Popery. The figure follows."

Capt. Thomas,³ after quoting the above, adds :

"But this theory of the meaning and use of the sculptured stone is negatived by the fact that in 1529, when the inhabitants were still Papists, no notice is taken of the stone being used for such a purpose. On the contrary, John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray, states the legend to this effect: South Ronaldsay is an island inhabited by robust men. It has a church near the sea-shore, where there is a very hard stone called 'a grey whin', 6 ft. long and 4 broad, in which the print of two naked feet is fixed, which no workman could have made. Old men narrate that a certain Gallus (Magnus?), being expelled the country, went on board some ship to find asylum elsewhere, when suddenly a storm arose, by which they were exposed to great danger, and at last were shipwrecked. He at length jumped on to the back of a whale, and vowed, humbly praying to God, that if he was carried safely to shore, he would, in memory, etc., build a church to the Virgin Mary. The prayer being heard, he was carried safely to the shore by the assistance of the whale. The whale having been changed into a stone of its own colour, he placed it in the church, where it still remains."⁴

¹ *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. v, p. 113.

² The Ilam Anastatic Drawing Soc., vol. for 1880, pl. 18, gives an illustration of this footprint, by J. T. Irvine, Esq.

³ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xiii, p. 39.

⁴ Barry's *Orkney Islands*, p. 443.

"The date of this legend shows that the stone was not sculptured for the purpose suggested by Mr. Low, while the probability is altogether in favour of its having been the inauguration stone of a pre-Norse Pictish chieftain in South Ronaldsay."

Belmont, near Londonderry, Ireland.—Capt. Thomas describes the stone thus :

"In the garden of Belmont, on the Greencastle road, about a mile from Londonderry, there is (1837) a block called St. Columba's Stone. The surface is a rude rectangle, whose diagonal is $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. ; but the thickness is not stated. Near the middle is the sculptured impression of two feet, right and left, and 10 ins. long. Petrie supposes this to have been the inauguration stone of Aileach, brought to its present place by some local chief of Derry."¹

Near Gort, co. Clare, Ireland.—Capt. Thomas further says :

"On the northern slope of the Clare hills, a little south of the public road leading from Gort to Feakle, and about midway between those two towns, in the townland of Dromandoora, on an exposed and tolerably smooth surface of rock, is the engraved outline or impression of a foot clothed by a sandal. The carving or impression is 10 inches long, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. where widest, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. at the narrowest part."²

Hill of Lech, near Monaghan, Ireland.—The third Irish example mentioned by Capt. Thomas he describes as follows :

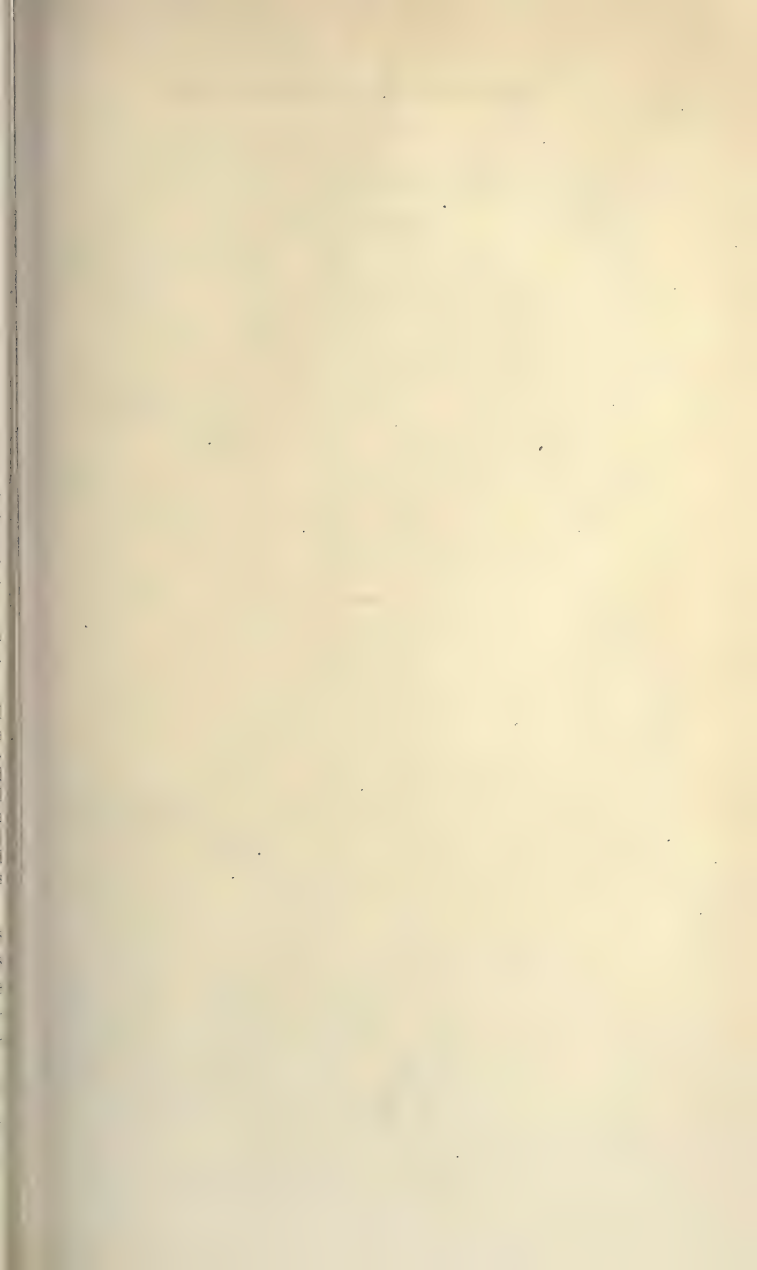
"The inauguration stone of the Mac Mahons still exists on the hill of Lech, formerly called 'Mullach Leaght', or 'Hill of the Stone', three miles south-west of Monaghan, and is marked on an ancient manuscript map of Ulster in the State Paper Office, 'Mullagh-lost', so called of a stone there on which Mac Mahon is made. Sir Henry Bagnall writes to Lord Burghley from Newry, September 9, 1595 : 'Sythence the wringing of my L're, old Oneyle is dead, and the Traitor (Tyrone) gone to the stone to be made.' The impression of the foot was effaced by the owner of the farm about the year 1809. The stone measures 6 ft. 5 ins. long by 4 ft. 4 ins. broad."³

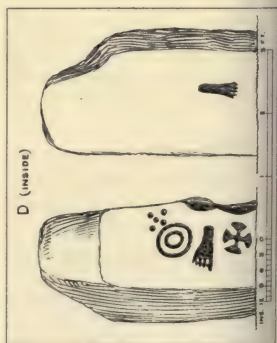
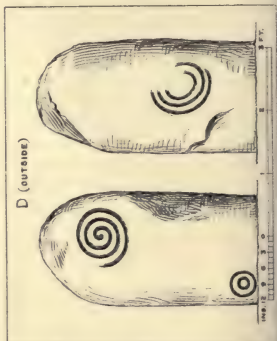
3. *Mediæval Footprints.*—In Christian times footprints are found engraved as symbols on tombstones ; and slabs which may have been originally used for this purpose are preserved in churches as objects of superstitious veneration, the footprints upon them being worshipped as those

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xiii, p. 42, and *Ord. Mem. of Londonderry*, p. 233.

² *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xiii, p. 42, and *Proc. R. I. A.*, vol. x, p. 441.

³ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xiii, p. 42, and Shirley's *Dominion of Farnley*, p. 74.





either of our Lord or of some saint.¹ Examples of tombstones with footprints, from the Catacombs, will be found in the works of Boldetti and Perret. The former gives an engraving of a slab inscribed IANYAPIA EN Θ, and having the outline of the sole of a shoe at one end, on which appear the words "In Deo".² Perret illustrates a tombstone where the profile of the foot is engraved instead of the sole.³ Dr. Smith, in his *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, informs us that there is in the church of St. Sebastian, outside Rome, a slab bearing the prints of two feet, piously believed to be those of our Blessed Lord; also that in the church of St. Radegund, Poitiers, a well defined footmark in the stone is supposed to indicate the spot where our Saviour appeared to the patron saint. There is a slab in the Kincherian Museum bearing two pairs of footprints pointed contrary ways, as of a person going and returning. In the Catacombs of Rome have been found bronze seals made in the form of the sole of a shoe, bearing either the name of the owner, such as "Fortunius", or a Christian motto, such as "Spes in Deo." In the British Museum is a specimen of a seal of this kind, in the form of the sole of the naked foot, inscribed with the initials L. C. M. E. twice repeated.⁴ At Clonfinlough, King's Co., Ireland, is a boulder covered with cup-markings, crosses, and other figures, amongst which are several footprints.⁵

Some of the carvings of footprints at Calderstones belong probably to the mediæval period, as has been pointed out, and occur in association with incised crosses. In Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia*⁶ will be found an illustration of a Staffordshire "clog-almanack" with several symbols upon it. Opposite the 25th of October are cut the soles of two shoes, to indicate St. Crispin's Day.

4. *Modern Footprints*.—The practice of tracing the out-

¹ Dr. William Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 682.

² M. A. Boldetti, *Osservazioni sopra i Cimiterj de Santi Martini* (Rome, 1720), p. 419.

³ Louis Perret, *Les Catacombes de Rome* (Paris, 1852), vol. v, pl. 52.

⁴ See also illustration of ring in the Vatican Museum, and of one in the collection of Mr. C. Drury Fortnum. (*Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxviii, p. 289.)

⁵ *Journ. R. Hist. and Arch. Assoc. of Ireland*, vol. v, p. 36.

⁶ Vol. ii, p. 499, and pl. xvi.

line of the foot with a sharp pointed instrument upon the lead of flats on the top of church towers, is a common one at the present day; and although now done in mere idle wantonness, it is quite possible that the custom may be a survival from a time when the symbol had some real meaning.

5. *Footprints in India*.—The worship of sacred footsteps seems to be universal throughout the East. By far the most celebrated is that on Adam's Peak, near Colombo, in Ceylon, which is 7,420 ft. above the sea. The following description is given in Tennent's *Ceylon*:¹

"On approaching the highest altitude, vegetation suddenly ceases, and at last, on reaching the base of the stupendous cone which forms the pinnacle of the peak, further progress is effected by aid of chains securely riveted in the living rock. As the pillar-like crag rounds away on either side, the eye, if turned downwards, peers into a chasm of impenetrable depth; and so dizzy is the elevation, that the guides discourage a pause lest a sudden gust of wind should sweep the adventurous climber from his giddy footing into unfathomable depths below. An iron ladder let into the face of a perpendicular cliff upwards of 40 ft. in height, lands the pilgrim on a tiny terrace which forms the apex of the mountain; and in the centre of this, on the crown of a mass of gneiss and hornblende, the sacred footstep is discovered under a pagoda-like canopy supported on slender columns, and open on all sides to the winds. The indentation in the rock is a natural hollow, artificially enlarged, exhibiting the rude outline of a foot about 5 ft. long, and of proportionate breadth; but it is a test of credulity, too gross even for fanaticism to believe, that the footstep is either human or divine. The worship addressed to it consists of offerings, chiefly flowers of the rhododendron, presented with genuflexions, invocations, and shouts of 'Saadoo!' (Amen.) The ceremony concludes by the striking of an ancient bell and a draught from the sacred spring which runs within a few feet of the summit. In one of the temples on the way up, at Palabaddula, a model is preserved, exhibiting in brass a facsimile of the golden cover which once protected the sacred footstep, and which Valentyn says was shown to some subjects of Holland, who ascended the peak in 1654; but it has long since disappeared."

Lieut.-Colonel Forbes Leslie, in his *Early Races of Scotland*,² also describes and illustrates the sacred footstep on Adam's Peak, and says:

"This is, perhaps, the most generally venerated memorial to be found in the eastern world. It attracts pilgrims from all countries that have adopted the religion of Buddha, Mohammed, or the Hindu gods. The Buddhists hold the footstep as Buddha's; the Hindus as Siva's; the Mohammedans, and some who call themselves Christians, as Adam's. Footmarks cut in rocks are common in many parts of India, and various causes are assigned for their execution. On a peak of Mount Aboo, the marks of two feet cut in the rock are pointed out as

¹ Fifth ed., vol. ii, p. 140.

² Vol. ii, p. 310.

the memorial of a saint. At another place I was told that a similar sculpture was in memory of the visit of a pious sovereign. In some districts they are said to mark the spots where widows have accomplished self-immolation."

In confirmation of the last observation I may mention that an officer who has spent most of his life in India, made me a sketch, from memory, of a monument raised to commemorate a suttee. The base was formed of masonry built in rectangular form, and supported an upright slab bearing an inscription commencing, "Witness as long as the sun and moon shall indure", etc.; and to symbolise this was carved the representation of an upraised arm with bangles, and the sun and moon on each side. In front of the tablet, and on the top of the masonry, were two pairs of feet, cut off at the ankles, carved in stone. I was also told that the memorials were sometimes of a ruder type, the prints of feet being simply cut in the turf in front of the monument.

Footprints form objects of worship amongst the Jains, and a great deal of interesting information, is to be found in a paper by H. T. Colebrooke, in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*,¹ entitled, "On Inscriptions of the Jaina Sect in South Bihar", from which the following extracts are taken :

"The sect of Jain has, in the division of Nawádá, in South Bihar, two places of pilgrimage. One is a tank named Nakhaur. The temple contains two stones, on each of which is an inscription and the representation of two human feet, the most natural object of worship amongst the Jainas of the district. The inscriptions are dated A.D. 1619 and 1620. The other place is Pokharpura, where the centre of the temple is somewhat in the shape of a large beehive, in the cavity of which is a representation of Mahádíva's feet.

"In the centre of the Jain temple at Puri are three representations of the feet of Mahádíva, who died at this place, and one representation of the feet of each of his eleven disciples. In the corner buildings are also the representations of the feet of various persons. The other place of worship belonging to the Jains is at Cabirpur. In the neighbourhood it is usually called 'Vishnu páducá', or the feet of Vishnu ; but this name is only given it by the vulgar ; and both Brahmanas and Jainas agree that the object of worship here represents the feet of the twenty-four deities of the Jainas, which the inscription states to be those of Váshupujya, who was born at Champanagara. This emblem of the deity is very rudely carved, and represents the human feet. The inscription between the feet mentions the name of the god ; that before the toes implies it was made by certain persons therein named. The date is A.D. 1637. The inscription in front of the stone is an exhortation to the believers in the Jainas to worship the feet of Váshupujya."

¹ Vol. i, p. 520.

Representations of the footsteps of Buddha are often most elaborately ornamented with symbolical devices. There is one in the British Museum, from the Amaravati Tope, beautifully carved in white marble, and bearing the *swastica*, the *trisol*, and the *chakra*, or wheel of the law.¹ Sir Gardner Wilkinson says that the Mohammedans of Egypt show a footprint of their prophet, which gives the name to a village on the banks of the Nile, Attar-e-Nebbee.

In classical times also there are allusions bearing on this subject. Herodotus mentions the impression of the foot of Hercules, two cubits in length, on a rock near the bank of the river Tyras, in Scythia. In Italy tablets dedicated to Iris and Hygeia have been found.

Conclusion.—From the above facts we gather that the practice of carving footprints on rocks and stones is one which dates back from the remote past of the bronze age, and that the geographical area over which they are found embraces the whole of the ancient world. They appear as hieroglyphics in Mexican MSS., as symbols on cromlechs and in the catacombs, as objects of ceremonial use in the stones of inauguration of the Celtic kings, and as objects of worship throughout the East. As symbols, a variety of meanings may be attached to the representation of footprints. The thing symbolised may be simply the foot itself, as in the case of votive tablets erected by persons who either have returned safely from a journey, or may have been cured of some disease of the feet. On tombstones may be, “Here the person who died left his ‘footprints on the sands of time’, and passed away.” On stones of inauguration the meaning appears to be, “Here the king stood, and was crowned”; and as a secondary meaning, derived from the ceremonial use, sovereignty or royalty may be indicated. Finally, there is the notion of going and coming, as suggested by footprints pointing in opposite directions. The suggestions which have been made must be looked upon simply as speculations which further research may or may not justify. However this may be, I trust I have said enough to show the great interest of this subject, and what a wide field it opens up for future investigation.

¹ Fergusson’s “Indian Architecture”, p. 184, *Trans. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, vol. iii, p. 57.

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(Continued from p. 189.)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 25, 1882.

THIS day, the weather being fine, the archæological investigations were conducted under pleasant auspices. A large number left by railway early; and on reaching Totnes, carriages were in waiting to convey them to the various points of interest in the programme.

On arriving at Dartington Hall, the Rev. Mr. Champernowne, in the absence of the owner, Arthur Champernowne, Esq., V.P., furnished some interesting notes of the family history. Dartington was held by Alwin in the reign of Edward the Confessor. As mentioned in *Domesday Survey* (1086), William de Falavre holds Destrinstone, Cockington, Rattren, Erbemefon, and Inglebourne. Robert, son of Martin de Turonibus (de Tours), lord of Camorts in Wales, Coombe-martin and Martinhoe in North Devon, possessed Dartington. The Martins or Fitz-Martins possessed Dartington for eight descents. In the nineteenth year of King Edward II, William Lord Martin, a parliamentary baron, held Dartington. Then it came to James Lord Audeleigh, his nephew, who fought at Poitiers. Subsequently Dartington was escheated to the Crown. In 1385 Richard II granted it to Robert de Vere, and subsequently to his half-brother, John Holland, Duke of Exeter. Holland, Duke of Exeter, with his brother, Earl of Kent, conspired to restore Richard II. He was beheaded, and his lands confiscated; but the lands were restored to his son John by Henry V. Henry Holland, grandson of the first Duke who held Dartington, fought at Barnet on the Lancaster side; he had married Anne, the sister of Edward IV, but fled abroad, and was reduced to great distress, and begged, bare-legged, in the Duke of Burgundy's train, who had married his wife's sister. He was found dead in the sea. Margaret, Countess of Richmond, had a grant of this land for her life. The Crown held it till Ailnoth of London bought it, and exchanged with Sir A. Champernowne, whose monument is now in the church-tower, dated 1578. He was the younger son of Sir P. Champer-

nowne of Modbury, a site where the Champernownes had been settled since the time of Edward I.

This building, like so many of the domestic houses of the fourteenth century, consisted, Mr. Brock explained, of two quadrangles, the larger having an entrance with a hall, and the usual buildings arranged on either side. The main hall divided the quadrangles, and the visitors passed from the main hall on to the site of the smaller, which had probably contained the best apartments. The work was of the time of the ownership of John Holland. The archæologists were then led through the pretty projecting porch; and on entering the roofless hall, Mr. Brock stated that the style of the architecture was of the transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular of the later date. The windows might not be understood by some; but they were declared to be comparatively modern work, of the time, probably, of Charles I. The tower close to the hall belonged to the church, which has now been demolished. Some of the visitors were disappointed to find that the main fabric had been swept away, but were compensated by an inspection of the tower. In regard to the battlements and corbels of the hall, Mr. Brock explained that they were rebuilt by Pugin some few years ago; but how far they resembled the old ones there were no means of telling. There was a fine open roof over the hall at the commencement of the century, when it was unfortunately taken down because it was considered to be unsafe. The hall was now open to the sky,—a fact which was much to be deplored, since a roof of such early date would have been of great interest. The carved corbels, however, remained throughout. There was a fine, open fireplace, concerning the date of which there was a conflict of opinion, in which Mr. J. Reynolds and Mr. Henry J. F. Swayne, Recorder of Wilton, took part, agreeing with Mr. Hine that it was much later; but Mr. Brock gave several reasons for holding that it was original work, and mentioned that Sir James Picton agreed with him in his conclusions. The archæologists next reached the inner quadrangle, around which had been grouped the principal buildings. These, however, have all been removed; but Mr. Brock pointed out that there were here and there fragments of masonry which indicated that the building followed the usual plan, although they did not afford much clue either to the extent or appropriation of the buildings.

The next halt was made at Berry Pomeroy Church, a fine and characteristic specimen of a Devonshire church, having a capital porch with a vaulted roof and a room over it; a good western tower, built “battering”; and an unusually good oak screen, coloured and gilt, extending from wall to wall across the chancel. Mr. E. Windeatt, of Totnes, detailed the history of the building, and paid a just eulogium to the Rev. John Prince, author of the *Worthies of Devon*, who was for

many years vicar of the parish, and who died there on the 9th of September 1723.

Mr. Brock referred to the peculiarities of the architecture; and after the fine monuments had been inspected, and thanks accorded to the Rev. A. J. Everett, who had received the party at the church, a visit was paid to the mansion adjoining. It is now the residence of Mr. Michelmores, but formerly that of the Seymours of Berry Castle. Mr. Michelmores most kindly displayed the ancient treasures, the magnificent oak cabinets and other oak furniture, including the massive bedstead said to be that of Lady Jane Seymour, to the visitors. Mr. Michelmores, with the help of Mrs. Michelmores, most kindly entertained the whole company to a light luncheon afterwards.

Subsequently Mr. Morgan, on behalf of the Association, thanked Mr. Michelmores for his kindness. He said it was a great treat for them to find themselves in such a house, surrounded by so many things that reminded them of troublous though important and interesting times.

Mr. Grain added a few words to this vote of thanks, and observed that it was most gratifying to them that the church had been so carefully and beautifully restored.

Mr. Michelmores suitably acknowledged the compliment, and added that the parish was an ancient one; but the records had unfortunately been either lost or destroyed. The house they were in was thought to have been formerly a monastic establishment.

Proceeding onwards through some of the beautiful scenery of Devon, Berry Pomeroy Castle was reached. This charming ruin was seen to great advantage, every point of view being a remarkable study for an artist. It consists of a mass of late Tudor buildings grouped round an inner court, and surrounded by an escarped bank of great height. There is but one approach: this is a gateway with spaces for two portcullises and two flanking towers.

Mr. C. Lynam, of Stoke-upon-Trent, related the history of the building within the inner court; the party then perambulated the remains, which are extensive and imposing. It would appear to be a matter of no uncertainty that a castle was erected here in Norman times; but although the author, Prince, exercised a wise precaution in not attempting to calculate what the Castle was "in its antique form", bolder and perhaps less thoughtful writers claim some of the present ruins to be of Ralph de la Pomerai's time. Here the buildings were (he said) under the inspection of the Association; and if through the observation of any one present it could be determined what were the oldest portions of the remains, and their several dates, a useful visit would have been made. As far as could be ascertained, no published plan in detail could be had, nor any really critical account of it. The work would

repay a careful examination. From the very short inspection which he had been able to make, he could not venture any definite opinion as to the time of the erection of the several parts; but it would appear to him that it cannot be said there are any Norman remains.

The gate-house, the wall between it and St. Margaret's Tower, this tower, and the wall on the western side, are the oldest portions, and these do not appear to be earlier than the fifteenth century. The utmost skill and care have been bestowed on the arrangement of the gate-house for its purpose of defence. A portcullis crossed the entrance. The side-towers command it from the ground to the highest point. They also view every means of approach; whilst above the portcullis an opening is projected whence missiles could have been thrown below on any adversary attempting to enter. Nothing can exceed the skill displayed in the design of this part of the building, which was the weak point in this castle of defence.

A perambulation of the buildings was made, and Mr. Brock quite dismissed the idea of any Norman work being preserved in them.

Mr. Walter Myers, F.S.A., proposed the thanks of the Association to His Grace the Duke of Somerset, their noble President, not only for allowing them to view the Castle, but for the care which seemed to be taken of the remains. He wished that as great care was taken of ruins everywhere.

The next halt was made at Compton Castle, a building partly in ruins, of early fifteenth century date, of a very different plan, more resembling Dartington Hall, since it had a quadrangular court enclosed by walls in front of the principal block of buildings which divide it from a second court in the rear. The buildings consist of the remains of the chapel, some of the best rooms, and nearly the whole of those for domestic purposes. Mr. C. H. Compton read a paper on the families connected with the castle and described it. This castle was visited during the Exeter Congress of the Association in 1861, under the presidency of Sir Stafford Northcote, M.P.; and an illustrated paper on it is to be found in vol. xix, pp. 1-12, of our *Journal*.

The party then proceeded to Torquay to luncheon, and a return was made by way of Paignton to Totnes, passing Tor Abbey on the road, which, had time admitted, would have been inspected more particularly than it was, by a few members only. Owing to the lateness of the hour of return, one paper only was read at the Athenæum, R. N. Worth, Esq., F.S.S., President of the Plymouth Institution, being the Chairman on the occasion. This was entitled:—

NOTES ON THE CORNISH LANGUAGE AND ITS SURVIVAL IN THE
CORNISH DIALECT.

BY REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.

The literary relics of the old Cornish are more numerous than most persons who have not given attention to the subject would suppose. To a certain extent, and definitely so for philological purposes, Cornish is a literary language—of indeed a small literature, but still such as was quite enough to place it among the minor literary languages of the Aryan family. It is probably larger than the literature of several of the minor European languages prior to the beginning of the present century, *e.g.*, than that of Wendish, or Luzaccan, or even perhaps than Servian, which until recently was very poor in literature, being mainly represented by ballads. I believe Cornish is then by no means the poorest of European tongues from a literary standpoint, and its literature, to Englishmen Cornwall being a part of Great Britain, ought to be of archæological interest.

1. "The Drama of the Creation."—This was printed and translated by Mr. Norris in 1859 at Oxford. It is a very interesting and curious miracle play, combining the history of the early part of Genesis with the legend of the Holy Rood, and likewise with some portions of the Old Testament down to the period of the building of Solomon's Temple. It was apparently the first of a series—a sort of Cornish sacred trilogy.

2. "The Creaçon of the World: by Jordan, 1611, or Gwreans an Bys."—Published by Davies Gilbert, and an amended edition by Mr. Whitley Stokes, under Philological Society in 1863. This is a post-Reformation setting of the subject of the former play.

3. "The Passion Play."—This was printed with the "Creation" by Mr. Norris in 1859. It is of especial interest now from its points of resemblance to, and of difference from, the famed Ober-Ammergau Passion Play (which, by-the-bye, has recently been translated by a Cornish lady, Miss Drew). I have ventured, in *The Church in Cornwall*, this year to draw attention to some of these points.

4. "The Drama of the Resurrection."—This is to a great degree a paraphrase of Scripture, but contains several poetical and devotional passages of merit.

5. "The Mons Pilati."—A quaint, and, as might be expected from the subject, a horrible tragedy, with some passages of power, though many of grotesqueness, embodying mediæval legends on the subject. This may be called the Tragedy of old Cornish literature.

6. "The Ascension."—A subject which, perhaps, contains fewer passages than any in Cornish literature, and some most ingenious applications of Isaiah and the Psalms. I have ventured, also, in *The Devotions of the Old Cornish*, to try to set some of these into English verse. The subject is very grand, and some of the speeches have a rude Miltonic style.

7. The "Beunans Meriasek," "Life of Meriasek," Part I.—This curious drama, with the two following, is the last discovered of the old Cornish dramas; it was found among the Hengwrt MSS. in Wales in 1869. The MS. was dated 1504. Part I refers to the life of S. Meriasek in Cornwall, and the last struggle of heathenism against Christianity in the county. Part II mainly deals with the episcopate

and death of S. Meriasek. I ventured to deal with this drama in a paper read at the Cornish Congress in 1876.

8. "The Drama of Constantine."—This is found mingled with the MS. of the "Beunans Meriasek", but is really a distinct drama. It is a dramatic version of the legendary history of the conversion of the Emperor Constantine the Great.

9. "The Drama of the Woman and Her Son."—Included in the "Beunans Meriasek"; very short.

10. "Mount Calvary."—The Cornish Epic, as it has been called. It deals with a purely religious subject, and its tone is not unlike, in parts, to the sentiments of the Cornish miners of the present age. There is a simple plaintive sentiment about it which is very pleasing. It adheres generally to the Gospel narrative.

11. "A Song."—A solitary vestige of Cornish ballad of a coarse kind.

12. "The Story of John of S. Levan."—Probably quite modern and unauthentic. The legend is of curious interest, however, from a folk-lore standpoint, as it is found in Servian also, and possibly in other Aryan tongues.

These are the twelve complete works in Cornish which have been printed, with which I am acquainted. Besides these twelve there are some unpublished MSS., e.g., a fragment of a drama of the time of Edward II has recently been discovered in the British Museum by Mr. H. Jenner; fragment of an old Cornish poem in the British Museum Library of MSS., with translation, 1759; Treli-sick collection of Cornish poems and plays in Treli-sick Library; the Gwavas MSS. in the British Museum; Sherwood sermons in Cornish at Menabilly Library. I would suggest that it is very desirable that the existing MSS. in old Cornish should be printed. Works that remain in a MS. form are liable to destruction; when printed they are secured to posterity in public and private libraries.

Of Dictionaries there are—1. First and chief must be the old vocabulary of the Cornish language, probably designed to teach Cornish boys Latin, republished by Mr. Norris. In his edition, with his numerous notes, it occupies 114 pages, but in the MS. it is written on 7 folio pages. Its date may be the thirteenth century. It has also been republished by Zeuss. 2. Lhuyd's *Archæologia Britannica* contains an extensive Cornish glossary. It is combined with Irish, Welsh, and Breton. The glossary is based on Latin, and is tolerably concise. 3. The dictionary of Cornish in Pryce's Grammar (derived from Tonkin and Gwavas). This is believed by Norris to be founded on Lhuyd's MS., enlarged by Tonkin and then reproduced by Pryce (under his own name) in 1790. 4. Williams's *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum* is the great book on this subject. It was published in 1865, and contains 398 pages. Synonyms are given of most of the Cornish words in Welsh, Armoric, Irish, Gaelic, and Manx, with also other Aryan connections in some cases. The passages where words occur are quoted. The Cornish dialect vocabularies are:—1. Miss Courtenay on West Cornish dialect; an excellent book, published by the English Dialect Society in 1880. It deals with the Cornish existing words, whether of Celtic or English origin, and gives quotations illustrating their use. 2. The "Cornish Centenary Essays", by Mrs. Bernard Victor and Mrs. Pentreath, of Mousehole. 3. Mr. Couch. This is a collection of East Cornish words, as Miss Courtenay's is of West Cornish. The two are published by the English Dialect Society

together. There are not so many quotations as in Miss Courtenay's. 4. Mr. Garland's collection. 5. Mr. Jenner's paper in *Transactions of Philological Society* for February 1876, on "Traditional Relics of the Cornish language in Mount's Bay in 1875;" the result of some inquiries Mr. Jenner took with me in 1875 at Newlyn and Mousehole among our old people about old Cornish words. 6. Mr. Bottrell's glossary, of his third series of "Stories and Folk-lore of West Cornwall." This is short, but contains many of the most common and singular of the Cornish words in living use. 7. Dr. Jago's work, now in the press, which is looked forward to by many.

Grammars.—The first I am acquainted with, worth the name, was published during the decay, but before the death, of the language, *i.e.*, by Lhuyd in his *Archæologia Britannica*. It is tolerably elaborate. 2. I assume that Carew's and Seaman's notes are only worth mentioning. 3. Pryce's *Cornish Grammar*,—really Tonkin's. This is a useful book, though superseded by Norris and Zeuss, and containing some errors. It gives one an idea of the language in its last stage. It was published in 1790, and contains a valuable list of proverbs and phrases which mark the last stage of the language. 4. Norris's *Cornish Grammar*.—About the best and most handy book on the subject for general purposes, printed in 1859. It is founded mainly on the Cornish as found in the miracle plays, with which it is usually bound up. It is a rather elaborate book, and has probably been mastered by very few since it was written. 5. Zeuss' *Grammatica Celtica*.—It is to the credit of the German scientific world that it can produce works of standard merit on the higher branches of almost every subject of human research. Cornish is no exception, and the great work of Zeuss must take always a high stand in the history of Cornish literature. This work is of a general character, and is written in Latin. It deals with Welsh and Irish, as well as Cornish, and treats the subject in a scientific manner.

Mr. Lach-Szyrma then passed in review place names, family names, traditional sentences, and existing words. He thought four hundred words still in use in West Cornwall were of Cornu-British origin.

A discussion followed on this interesting paper, in which the Rev. Alexander Taylor, Mr. Wade, Mr. Wright, F.S.A., Mr. Bennett, Mr. Windeatt, and others took part. *A propos* of a reference to Dolly Pentreath being the last person who spoke the Cornish tongue, Mr. Lach-Szyrma said the intelligent knowledge of the language passed away with John Keigwin, of Mousehole, who lived in the time of Queen Anne. But there were many who spoke a little of it after that. Mousehole was the last place where it was spoken, and an old man named Bodennar was the last who left any written portions of the old tongue. He believed that Dolly was the last person who spoke the language.

SATURDAY, 26TH AUGUST.

Saturday proved to be a day of alternated sunshine and showers, but the latter did not prevent a large party from starting in carriages from Plymouth for an extended drive. The first place visited was Slade

Hall, which lies on the skirts of the moor, quite adjacent to the village of Cornwood, and about an hour's drive east of Plympton. For the last mile or two the route lay through wood-girt lanes, with the branches and foliage brushing the sides of the carriage, and so narrow as not to leave room for a single foot-passenger on either side. Arrived at the hall, the party were cordially received by Mr. J. D. Pode, J.P., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association, and his son, Master Pode, both of whom accompanied the party afterwards as far as Plympton. Slade Hall, an extensive and somewhat modern looking mansion on the outside, stands in a fertile and beautiful valley densely covered with old timber, and commanding a considerable view of the not distant moor on the north-west. The visitors assembled in the large hall with carved, wainscoted sides, and the ornamental wood of the old English ceiling exposed. Here, forming in a circle, the company were entertained with a brief account of the building, read by Mr. Pode from Risdon's *Survey of Devon*. According to this account it appeared that the modern name Slade has been derived from the early Anglo-Saxon *slæd*, signifying a long, flat piece of ground. If it were a low, flat piece of ground it would be a more correct description. Cornwood, the parish in which Slade Hall is situated, was anciently called Corneard. "In this parish", says the old historian, "you have Hele, from whence the several families of that name who flourished in this shire fetched their original. Hele dwelt here in the time of Edward the First. In this parish stands Slade, the dwelling of Walter surnamed thereof in the reign of Edward the Second. Reginald Cole was lord thereof in the reign of Richard the Second; which family have enjoyed this inheritance till the late Richard Cole sold the same, which is now become the seat of the Saverys, a family that hath matched with many worthy houses."

In the same work mention is made of another famous house which the members of the Congress afterwards had the privilege of examining. "Fardel was built by Reginald (Cole), in the Conqueror's time, by the name of Fardendell; and in King Henry the Third's time it was the dwelling of Fitz-Joel." The hall in which the company assembled contained a number of Jacobean chairs; the wood quite dark with age, but the chairs themselves firm, and extremely elegant in shape and carving. The back reached to the top of the head of the sitter. There was also a most ingenious seat, the back of which, by revolving on a wooden pivot in either side-arm, turned and formed the leaf of a table. It appeared not far removed from the age of the chairs. It was also remarkably firm, and the wood well preserved. This revolving leaf is ornamented with four carvings. But the feature in the hall which appeared to interest most of the party was the remarkably beautiful ceiling. It was an arched, collar-beam roof, of a design almost identical

with that of the old Plymouth Priory, but believed to be at least one hundred and fifty years later.

Supplementing Mr. Pode's brief narrative, Mr. Loftus Brock delivered a short address, giving his opinion as to the character and age of the architecture and workmanship. "The carving round the walls", said he, "is almost precisely of the same pattern as that which we saw in the east gate of Totnes. You will notice that the same flamboyant patterns predominate, the whole followed by a pretty canopy which has been carved by no unskilful hand. The carving around all this (certain parts of the wainscoting) is particularly beautiful, but is not English work; and finding, therefore, some foreign work here and there, it may give rise to curious inquiry, namely, whether it is the spoil of some early date, or brought into the country at a later day. It would be a matter of much local curiosity if it could be ascertained from what building it was originally brought. I take it to belong to the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The cornice around the wainscoting is of the same date as that of the arch itself; and the pretty arched roof, which we have now the gratification of looking at, is of the date of James I. It is a beautiful roof, and one which deserves all the praise which has been given to it. Here are curious old English chairs, and of a pattern found in many parts of England. We saw one last year in Wiltshire, and the year before in Worcestershire, and the pattern has been noticed by myself in many other old houses in Cornwall and the West; and wherever seen, they may be noticed with much curiosity. It is English work of very fair quality. Here is another remarkably interesting chair, English work, and deserving of all praise as a good, honest piece of work. Here also is a very quaint specimen, but older. This is the original cane-work remaining, as in the other I pointed out to you. This is the curious, high-backed chair which we so frequently see recorded in history, and mentioned by the poets."

The Rev. Alexander Taylor said that there was one of similar pattern in Gray's Inn. It was made for Queen Elizabeth.

After some refreshment had been partaken of at the mansion, the party bade an adieu to Slade Hall, after thanking Mr. and Mrs. Pode, through Mr. Wright, F.S.A., the Hon. Congress Secretary, for their hospitality and kindness.

The next halt was soon made at the quaint and interesting little church of Cornwood. The courteous and venerable Vicar, the Rev. Prebendary Bartholomew, did the honours by accompanying his visitors into the sacred edifice, and gratifying all inquirers with full and interesting information as to the recent beautiful restoration which has been effected in the interior, towards which the chief donors were Lord Blachford and Mr. J. D. Pode. The church is Perpendicular in

style, with traces of earlier work in the tower and chancel. One of the most attractive relics of antiquity was a beautiful carved pulpit. Mr. Brock again explaining, at the request of the members, the chief points of interest, said: "We are in one of the most instructive churches to study which we have seen during our tour. I think we may trace here the gradual development of the church plan from a building comparatively small to one of the present size. The nave I take to be the original form of the church, with (as in this case) the addition of a western tower. The western tower survives; but nothing of the little nave remains. The tower, therefore, of this church is the oldest part; and it is of early date,—say, for the purpose of fixing a date, 1160 or 1170 A.D. The work is, therefore, semi-Norman in its character, the belfry windows being semicircular-headed, and the little tower-arch pointed. The remainder of the building, like so many of the Devonshire churches, is in the Perpendicular style. I can scarcely trust myself when I find flowing Decorated windows in the walls. They are modern, like so many other portions of the building. The pillars between the aisles and nave are very curious, built of granite, and one stone forming each shaft. Following the usual arrangements of these Devonshire churches, the older parts are built of ragstone, and the later parts of granite. There are some pretty monuments here. I am glad also to find that the old Jacobean or Elizabethan pulpit has been retained; and a very pretty example it is."

Mr. J. Reynolds directed attention to the tower-arch as a very good example of the pointed arch of the transition period. For decoration they would have the round arch; but for strength, and to carry weight, they required the pointed arch.

Mr. Pode called attention to two beautiful monuments, one dated 1627, and the other 1696. One commemorated his own ancestors, and the other the Savery family.

After taking leave of the learned Vicar of Cornwood, who was thanked for his kind reception of the party, a few miles' drive brought the members to the entrance of the ancient Fardel House. Standing solitary and isolated in an agricultural district in which the land dips for a considerable extent all round, the house and all its surroundings bear striking evidences of original importance. The party was conducted through this place by Mr. Pode, to whom it belongs, and by whom it is rented to a farmer.

On entering the yard, the first thing to attract attention is the ancient family chapel, a long, shed-like building still surmounted by its distinctive cross. This chapel is now used as a cider-cellar and granary.

Mr. Brock, in a few remarks on the archæological features of the building, said: "Whoever wishes to study the antiquities of Devon-

shire will pursue a very bad course if he takes simply the old records and the old documents apart from the architecture. The two must go hand in hand and side by side; one taken to illustrate the other. Here is a case in point. There is striking evidence of the erection of the chapel attached to this mansion in August 1433; because there is a licence from Bishop Lacy of Exeter, dated the 10th of August 1433, to the widow of John Raleigh, granting a licence for divine worship in the chapel; and the natural conclusion would be that the chapel was of that date. On inspecting the architecture, however, I find that the main fabric is of the middle of the thirteenth century, or nearly two centuries older. I cannot but think, however, that this lady undertook some repairs to the chapel at the later date, and then applied for license to continue divine worship therein. The interior work of the chapel is of the date I refer to, and is constructed of bluish freestone, different from that we have seen hitherto. The walling, too, is of rough, rag sandstone, similar to that of the most ancient building we have had the pleasure of seeing. The exterior tracery of the windows is of the Perpendicular style, in granite, and their date corresponds with the fifteenth century."

Mr. Wright, F.S.A., then read a paper (the members being assembled around him on the old and broad staircase), in which the question whether Sir Walter Raleigh was born at Fardel was referred to. He said: "We are now looking upon a spot where much of Sir Walter Raleigh's early life was passed, and the associations connected with his name become all the more vivid; and the picture, as it were, of the great past, in which he was so intimately concerned, rises up before us. Lysons, in his *Magna Britannia*, says:—'Fardel was, in the reign of Henry II, the property of Warren Fitz Joell, whose heiress brought it to Newton, and the heiress of Newton to Raleigh of Smalldridge.' The manor belonged, in the reign of William the Conqueror, to Ralph de Pomeroy, and afterwards to the Mohuns. In the reign of Henry III it became the property of Wymand Raleigh, a younger son of the Nettlecombe family, an ancestor of Sir Walter, whose grandfather, Wyman Raleigh, conveyed the manor to Sir Nicholas Hyde, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Fardel was one of the principal seats of the Raleighs; and it was supposed, though erroneously, that the celebrated man of whom I have been speaking was born here. Fardel was, without doubt, his occasional residence. His father was the first of the name that lived here. A letter from Sir Walter Raleigh to one of the Duke family was a short time since to be seen at Otterton House, pasted on a little board, with a glass over it for its preservation. This letter is dated from the Court, July 26, 1584, and in it Sir Walter expresses his wish to purchase this place, observing that from the natural disposition he had to it, having

been born in the house, he would rather seat himself there than anywhere else. East Budleigh, Poer Hayes (since called Duke's Hayes), was the property and residence of the ancient family of Poer, whose heiress brought it to the Dukes. The old mansion, says Lysons, at this place is celebrated as the birthplace of Sir Walter Raleigh, whose father had a long lease of it under the Dukes; and here, in 1552, the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh was born. This statement by Lysons is a corroboration of the letter just quoted."

Passing the position where the Fardell Stone had laid for many years, the next stopping point was Ivy Bridge, where the picturesque river bed and its roaring stream, the ivy-mantled arch spanning it, and all the other charming features of the spot were inspected. Luncheon was partaken of at Mallet's Hotel. On the return journey to Plymouth a halt was made at Plympton, and a couple of hours agreeably occupied in inspecting the old Castle and the two churches of St. Mary and St. Maurice. Mr. Brooking Rowe, F.S.A., giving an interesting address in reference to the origin and probable date of the Castle ruins, and the chief architectural features of the churches.

A brief visit was paid to the Plympton Grammar School, the birthplace of Sir Joshua Reynolds; and also the place where two other great artists, Sir Charles Eastlake and Benjamin Robert Haydon, received their early education.

The visitors were then received by Mrs. Brooking Rowe and other ladies of Plympton in the old but now (for borough purposes) disused Guildhall, and entertained with choice fruit and tea which they had kindly provided for the party. Afterwards the different parts of the building were visited, and the brazen but literally broken up maces of the defunct Corporation inspected. These, by the liberality of Mr. George Lambert, F.S.A. (who gave an interesting account of them), have since been thoroughly repaired, regilt, and put into a proper chest; for which act of true archæological taste Mr. Lambert has received a grateful letter of thanks from Mr. Brooking Rowe in the name of himself and the inhabitants of Plympton.

At eight o'clock the party returned to Plymouth, where they were entertained by the Mayor (Mr. C. F. Burnard) at an elegant *conversazione* in the Guildhall. Papers were read by Messrs. William H. Cope, Hine, and Compton; and Mr. Morgan, F.S.A., Treasurer of the Association, reviewed the week's proceedings, and expressed the thanks of the members and visitors for the kindness and hospitality they had received during the Congress from all with whom they had come in contact.

The Mayor, in closing the Congress, expressed his gratification that it had been so successful, and that the work of the archæologists in Plymouth and Devonshire had proved so satisfactory.

The extra day's proceedings, Monday the 28th, were among the most interesting of the whole. Under the guidance of Mr. Francis Brent, F.S.A., the accomplished and energetic Hon. Local Secretary, a visit was paid to the old citadel of Plymouth, the last of the seventeenth century fortifications still intact in England, on the site of ramparts of the thirteenth century, and that of the old Chapel of St. Catharine. Besides these, the site was probably that of a prehistoric settlement. The remains of the ancient Castle Gateway in Cambhay Street were then inspected, probably not too soon for the preservation of any record of their existence, since they will soon be swept away for the purpose of public improvement. Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., at the request of the party, promised to prepare a memoir of the remains. Proceeding by boat, Mount Batten was reached, with its round tower dating from the time of Charles II. Close to the tower some faint traces may yet be perceived of the earthworks thrown up during the memorable siege of Plymouth by the Royalists. Mr. Brent called attention to the fact that the spot was in all probability the seat of an early Celtic race, since large numbers of flint flakes have been found from time to time, while the continuance of the settlement to a later period appears to be proved by the numbers of British coins in gold, silver, and copper, which have been found. Close to Mount Batten is the site of the ancient cemetery, which was explored by Mr. Spence Bate, the results of which are preserved at the Plymouth Institution.

Later in the day a visit was paid to St. German's and Port Eliot. On arriving at the church, the former seat of the ancient bishops of Cornwall, the party was met by Mr. W. Daubeney, a relative of the vicar, and by the Rev. H. Evans, who welcomed them in the name of the vicar, the Rev. A. Furneaux. The church, which stands about midway on the steep slope of a hill side—a remarkable position for such a building—consists of the nave and aisles only of a larger building. The eastern part, which was the portion occupied by the Augustinian Canons prior to the Dissolution, fell down in 1592 and was never rebuilt. Two western towers, of different design, make an imposing west front, the effect of which is increased by the fine projecting Norman porch, undoubtedly the finest in the West of England. The south aisle was rebuilt early in the fifteenth century, and the north aisle was removed at the close of the last century. Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., described the building, and took occasion to refer to the evidence afforded of the existence of Christianity in Britain in early times, apart from all Saxon influence, doubtless the growth of the British Church of Roman times. The name St. German's refers to the well-known bishop of the fifth century, who visited England to combat Pelagianism, and it is found associated with the church from the earliest times of history. The names of many of the churches in the

immediate locality are also those of early saints known in Wales and Brittany as well as in the West of England. Port Eliot, the seat of the Earl of St. Germans, is close to the church on the north side, and was thrown open to the party. After the reception the Earl escorted the visitors through the building, and pointed out all the objects of especial interest. There are many fine historical and other portraits, several of which are by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Here, too, is an early landscape by Sir Joshua, a view of Plymouth, and also his "Snake in the Grass", a charming work in admirable preservation. Many pieces of old Plymouth china were noted, and in the library the Eliot correspondence and papers, now carefully bound, were especially regarded and examined. The daylight being almost gone, a purposed visit to Trematon Castle had to be given up, and it was at a late hour that the carriages passed over the ferry at Saltash on the way back to Plymouth, the effect of the charming scenery being heightened by brilliant moonlight.

The proceedings finally closed on Tuesday by a visit to the Duke of Bedford at his charming cottage and gardens at Endsleigh, near Tavistock; and with the many landscape and floral beauties of the "Happy Valley", as it was frequently called, the members and visitors were particularly delighted.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

Scotland in Pagan Times:—The Iron Age. The Rhind Lectures in Archæology for 1881. By JOSEPH ANDERSON, LL.D. (Edinburgh: David Douglas). 8vo. Pp. 314, and 264 woodcuts. 1883.—Dr. Anderson's two volumes of Rhind Lectures, entitled *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, have already been favourably noticed in these pages; and the work now under review, which treats of pagan Scotland, will be welcomed as no unworthy successor of those that have preceded it.

The method adopted by Dr. Anderson in his investigations is to start from "the border-land where the historic and the non-historic meet, and ascend the stream of time", so as to work from the known to the unknown, and by comparing the new facts and phenomena which are encountered with those that have gone before, and are already familiar to us, he is enabled to build up a logical and consistent account of the

culture and civilisation in Scotland before the introduction of Christianity. Dates which belong to history alone are left behind, and periods of unknown duration, such as the ages of stone, bronze, and iron, commence.

The general scope and arrangement of the present series of Lectures will be gathered from an enumeration of the headings of the different chapters, which are as follow:—1, Christian and Pagan Burials, Viking Burials; 2, Northern Burials and Hoards; 3, Celtic Art of the Pagan Period; 4, the Architecture of the Brochs; 5, the Brochs and their Contents; 6, Lake-Dwellings, Hill-Forts, and Earth-Houses. Happily for archæologists there are very marked characteristics possessed by the pagan methods of burial, which enable them in almost all cases to be immediately distinguished from those of the Christian period. The distinctive signs of a heathen burial are the burning of the body, the deposit of grave-goods in the tomb, and the absence of orientation of the body. Several interesting cases, however, of the survival of pagan funeral customs in Christian times are pointed out by Dr. Anderson: such, for instance, as the burial of bishops with their insignia and robes of office, and the depositing of clay incense-vessels in stone coffins during the mediæval period. Celtic burials of the iron age, in pagan times, have never been properly investigated, and therefore all evidence on the heathen modes of the disposal of their dead is deduced from the examination of the graves of the Scandinavian Vikings. These are described in most minute detail in Chapter I. The Scandinavian origin of the burials is fully proved by their only existing in the parts of Scotland invaded by the Northmen, and by the complete correspondence of all the objects found with those discovered in Norwegian graves of the same period. The fact of complete sets of smith's tools being buried with the dead is most characteristic of the Viking time; and the high esteem in which the worker in iron was held by a warlike nation, accounts both for this custom, and also for the prevalence of Smith as a surname amongst their descendants. Warriors are found buried with their swords and shields, and women with their personal ornaments, amongst which the bowl-shaped brooch is specially remarkable as being the typical form. Both the brooches and the sword-hilts are elaborately ornamented; and Dr. Anderson points out the marked difference which exists between the Celtic and Scandinavian schools of art metal-work. The Celt paid the most minute attention to detail, and built up his design from elements most conscientiously worked out; whereas the Scandinavian considered general effect the chief object to be aimed at. In representing a conventional animal, for instance, the Celt elaborates every limb with the greatest care; but in examining a Viking brooch, although the ornament is zoomorphic, it is impossible to say where

one animal begins and another ends ; or, indeed, to find a complete figure anywhere.

Three examples of Viking ship-burials in Scotland are given. Amongst the miscellaneous objects discovered in the graves of this period is a linen-smother of plate-glass, shaped like the end of a dumb-bell. Similar implements were in use in Scotland, within living memory, for smoothing linen ; and they were employed also in the straw-plaiting industry in Bedfordshire, for flattening the plaits.

At the beginning of Chap. II are described a set of burials which, although Scandinavian, differ from those already referred to. Their peculiarity consists in the bones being deposited in steatite urns of oval shape. " Their range, so far as at present known, is confined to Caithness, Orkney, and Shetland, the area proper of the old Norwegian earldom of Orkney." The latter portion of the chapter is devoted to an account of several hoards of silver ornaments which have been found in Scotland. The ornaments are partly Scandinavian and partly Celtic in character, and are generally found associated with Cufic and Anglo-Saxon coins of the ninth and tenth centuries. Of the brooches, which formed portion of a hoard found at Skail in Orkney, one is specially noticeable as having a representation of the god Thor upon it ; and Dr. Anderson gives for comparison a similar figure on a Thor's hammer from Skane in Sweden.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of Dr. Anderson's book is the third chapter, which deals with Celtic art during the pagan period, and succeeds in showing the extreme beauty of the design and the high quality of the workmanship which characterise the Celtic school of metal-work. Any competent judge who will carefully examine the excellent woodcuts of bronze armlets which illustrate this chapter, and compare them with the best specimens of Greek or Etruscan art, must come to the conclusion that Celtic metal-work can more than hold its own with the productions of any of the nations of classical antiquity whose art we are so apt to overrate when comparing it with that of our own country. One of the finest of these armlets is that found on the sands of Culbin, in Elginshire.

A large number of stone balls ornamented with the characteristic spirals of this period are illustrated and described ; but no satisfactory explanation of their use has yet been given. The one found at Towie, Aberdeenshire, is a good typical example of this class of object. Dr. Anderson concludes this chapter with the following passage : " A style of art characterised by such originality of design and excellence of execution must count for something in the history of a nation's progress, must have its place to fill in the history of art itself, when once we have begun to realise the fact that art was not the exclusive privilege of classic antiquity."

Chapters IV and V treat of the Brochs, or so-called Pictish towers, of the north of Scotland, of which that of Mousa in Shetland is the best known example. Dr. Anderson is the greatest living authority on this subject, and any attempt to condense the vast amount of information which he has here brought together would be doing him an injustice; we must therefore refer the reader to the book itself for full descriptions of these most remarkable structures. Perhaps it may be well, however, to mention incidentally the controversy which has arisen between Dr. Anderson and Mr. Ferguson as to whether the Brochs are of Celtic or Norwegian origin. Dr. Anderson holds the former theory, and Mr. Ferguson the latter. All the remains which have been found during the excavations of the Brochs are undoubtedly Celtic; and those who have seen how far a learned architectural critic can go wrong on the subject of rude stone monuments, will not be surprised to find that in the teeth of the most conclusive evidence to the contrary, Mr. Ferguson still holds to his theory. Of the objects discovered in the Brochs, the long-handled bone weaving combs and the stone lamps should be noticed.

The last chapter, which describes the lake-dwellings, hill-forts, and underground houses of Scotland, is carefully written; but is scarcely so original as the rest of the book.

The previous volumes of the Rhind Lectures have already become the leading text-books of Scottish archæology, and the present volume is quite equal to any of those which have preceded it. Scotland, which was at one time behindhand in these matters, is now taking the lead; and unless a lectureship of national archæology is founded here in England also, we shall probably have to follow humbly in the rear.

Ogham Stones and Crosses in Pembrokeshire.—The Annual Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association at Fishguard has been the means of bringing to light two new Ogham stones and four crosses of early date, whose existence was previously unknown. The two Ogham stones are on the farm of Castle Villa, near St. Edven's, in Pembrokeshire. One is used as a gate-post, and the other formerly served as a bridge across a stream. Mr. Harris, to whom the farm belongs, informed Dean Allen, of St. David's, that he had noticed some curious carvings on two stones near his house. The Dean went, shortly after receiving this information, to see the place, and was accompanied by Mr. Romilly Allen, who took rubbings and sketches of the stones. These, on being shown to Professor Westwood, were pronounced to be Oghams; and one of the inscriptions was read as PENDOGNE.

After leaving Castle Villa, the Dean and Mr. Allen proceeded to the church of St. Edven's, where they were rewarded by the discovery of four sepulchral crosses of the Celtic type, and probably of date as early

as the tenth century. One of these was inscribed with the letters Alpha and Omega, and the monogram of Christ.

Professor Westwood subsequently examined all these stones, and a full description of them will appear in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. In consequence of the fresh discoveries which are being made from time to time, it is probable that Professor Westwood will issue a supplementary volume to his already well known *Lapidarium Walliæ*.

Cartularium Saxonicum: a Collection of Charters relating to Anglo-Saxon History. By WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., of the British Museum.—The want of a new edition of the *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici* of the late Mr. Kemble (1839-1848) has been long felt by students not alone of English but of European history. Since the publication of that work, the *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*, by the late Mr. B. Thorpe (1865); the *Fassimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, by Lieut.-General J. Cameron, R.E., C.B. (1878); the *Fassimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, edited by Mr. E. A. Bond, F.S.A., Principal Librarian (1873-1878); the *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, by Rev. A. W. Haddan, B.D., and Prof. Stubbs (1869-1873); and other works, have brought to light many new documents which should have had a place in it. To these not a few may be added from the publications of the Master of the Rolls, the Deputy Keeper of Records, the Historical MSS. Commission, and the Transactions of antiquarian and archæological societies; and some are even yet unpublished.

It is intended to arrange the documents in a general series, according to chronology, each text being preceded by a *précis*, and collated with the best copies. At the foot of each deed will be given a summary of the sources from which the text and various readings are derived, so as to form a bibliography of Saxon diplomatics.

It has been considered that the *Cartularium* can be contained in about twenty-five parts, embracing a large number of documents printed from contemporary MSS., in a series which, it is hoped, will form a standard of reference to all matters connected with the early history of England, as written in the charters, from the fifth century to the termination of the Saxon period. The work will be closed with copious tables and indexes.

Part I (price 2s. 6d.) was issued 1st September 1883, and has received favourable notice by the press. Succeeding Parts will be issued at intervals of two months, Part II being ready on 1st November.

As this work cannot be carried on without the support of subscribers, and as the impression is limited, those who desire to subscribe should signify their names at an early opportunity to the publishers, Messrs. Whiting and Co., Limited, 30 and 32, Sardinia Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.

History of the Parish and Priory of Lenton, Co. Nottingham. By J. T. GODFREY, Esq.—This work will embody information relative to the parish and Priory of Lenton, resulting from original researches extending over several years. The MSS. relating to this parish and its Priory, in the Public Record Office, British Museum, Bodleian Library, and the ecclesiastical records at York and Lichfield, have been examined, with the result that much unnoticed information has been collected. The author has also had the unrestricted use of extensive manuscript collections relating to the county of Nottingham, and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has been resorted to with considerable success. Many of the facts thus brought to light are of the highest interest.

No element in the history of the parish has been neglected. A general account of the parish, comprising the extinct villages of Morton and Keighton, which formed part of the Priory domain, with notices of early antiquities found within its limits, will be given. The manorial and ecclesiastical history will follow. The descent of the manor from the time of Edward the Confessor to the present time will be shown in detail, illustrated with pedigrees. A considerable portion of the work will be devoted to the history of the Cluniac Priory founded by William Peverel in the reign of Henry I, with an extended list of priors, and details of the possessions of the Monastery. The remains of the Priory will be described, and the descent of the Priory demesne since the dissolution of the Monastery traced. The Carmelite Friary and the Hospital of St. Anthony will be noticed, and the origin and use of the old rock-holes in Nottingham Park discussed. An account of the benefice, with a list of vicars and other matters relating to the vicarage will be given, together with descriptions of the old and new churches, and copies of monumental inscriptions. Copious extracts from the Parish Registers, churchwardens' and overseers' accounts, and lists of the parish officers, will also appear. The ancient fairs, the Court of the Honour of Peverel, and other matters, will be described. Bestwood Park, formerly a royal domain and a hunting-lodge, will be included as part of the original parish, though now separated from it; and an extensive pedigree of the Dukes of St. Albans will be given. The modern history will comprise the churches of Hyson Green and Bestwood, the Nonconformist places of worship, the enclosures, the schools, and the various manufactures and industries which have contributed to the prosperity of the place. Pedigrees of the principal families connected with the parish will appear, accompanied in each case by notes and engravings of armorial bearings. The author's aim being to produce a history worthy of the parish, neither labour nor expense will be spared to make the work complete.

The book will be printed in royal octavo, old face pica type, upon

toned paper, illustrated by maps, fac-similes, and engravings, and appropriately bound in cloth. The price to subscribers will be one guinea. Further particulars may be obtained from the Author, Mr. J. T. Godfrey, Old Lenton, Nottingham.

Chronograms. By JAMES HILTON, F.S.A. (E. Stock, 62 Paternoster Row.)—The art of expressing dates by means of letters, and the employment of chronograms to commemorate the period of historical and interesting personal events, and in the title-pages of books, is of widely spread occurrence, and was formerly common in many countries; but in the present day it is almost unknown or forgotten. The study of this method of chronicling history, and its application to current events, with the forms which the art has taken, and the uses to which it has been put, is well worthy of the close attention of the antiquary and the student.

It is believed that the present work is the first collection of chronograms that has ever been published on any extensive and systematic plan. The volume gives in all 5,137 examples of chronograms in several languages, ranging from the year 1208 to the present time, gleaned from the countries of Europe and from some in Asia, grouped under their different nationalities; and also gives references to nearly double this number, and to the works in which they may be found. The examples given are taken from a great variety of sources, such as books, manuscripts, and inscriptions on medals, buildings, and monuments. In most cases translations are given in English, and in all instances the dates are appended in ordinary figures in the margin. Where needful, explanatory notes are added, and much curious and out of the way information is furnished whenever it throws light upon the circumstances under which the chronogram originated. An appendix on the bibliography of chronograms is also given; while a very copious index of subjects, names, and historical circumstances, places the stores of information contained in the volume at the command of the reader.

Numerous facsimiles of curious engravings, with chronograms found in books, and of medals bearing chronogrammatic inscriptions, are given to illustrate the work, enabling the reader to realise some of the original forms in which they occur.

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COMPTON CASTLE AND MANOR, DEVONSHIRE.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

(*Read at Plymouth, Aug. 1882.*)

IN the nineteenth volume of our *Journal*, p. 1, Mr. Gordon M. Hills has given a very full and detailed account of Compton Castle as it existed from A.D. 1440, when the building, the ruins of which now remain, was erected. I do not propose to say anything by way of addition to that exhaustive and able account; but by way of supplement to the history of the Castle, it may be interesting to trace more fully than Mr. Hills has done, the history of its earlier possessors, whom he dismisses with the slight notice, that in the reign of Edward II¹ the estate passed by an heiress from the family of Compton into the family of Gilbert, which family continued to hold it down to modern times.

Compton is a hamlet of the parish of Marldon, in the hundred of Haytor, co. Devon, five miles north-east of Totnes, and three miles north-east of Torquay. It derives its name from its situation, like so many other places of the same name throughout England, viz., Coombe Town, a town or vill in a coombe or vale, the parish of Marldon being situate in a long and well wooded vale.

The Castle, described by Mr. Gordon M. Hills as built in A.D. 1440, is not the original building, for in Edward the Confessor's time there was a castle in the possession

¹ This should be Edward III.

of Osolf. It is entered in *Domesday* among the possessions of Iudhel de Totenais, and held by his under-tenant Stephen. The entry is, "Stefan' ten' de Iu. Contone". This Iudhel (or, as he has been modernised into Ioel) de Totenais held of the King, *in capite*, the borough and manor of Totenais and fourteen manors in demesne, and ninety-two manors held by under-tenants: in all, one hundred and seven. He was the son of Alured, and is so named in the charter of endowment he granted to the Priory of Totnes. This Alured is supposed to have been the same who, surnamed "The Giant", was entrusted by Robert of Normandy, the father of William I, with the defence of the fortress of Charruces, or Carrucas, in order to hold in subjection the territory of Dol, which he had conquered from Alan of Brittany. Alured, in the latter part of his life, retired to the Abbey of Cerisy, near Bayeux, and his son Iudhel retired to the Priory of Barnstaple. Iudhel, about the year 1085,¹ built the Castle of Totnes. William Rufus dispossessed him of the barony of Totnes, and gave it to Roger de Novant; and it is most probable that at the same time he lost the manor and Castle of Compton, for we find that in the reign of Henry II, Compton was the property and seat of Sir Maurice de Pole; and in the succeeding reign (Richard I), Alice de Pole gave it to Peter,² the third son of Osbert, son and heir of Turchill, the son of Alwyn, the progenitor of the present family of Compton, of which the Marquis of Northampton is the head, and the Very Rev. Lord Alwyne Compton, Dean of Worcester, and our President of last year, a member.

Dugdale, in his *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, speaks of Turchill as a person of note and power, being reputed Earl of the county. He found such favour with the Conqueror, that after the Conquest he continued in possession of his lands, and amongst others, of the lordship of Compton in Warwickshire, and forty-seven other manors. In the reign of William Rufus he wrote himself "Turchillus de Eardene", from his residence in Arden in the county

¹ I am indebted for this account of Iudhel to a letter by our late Associate Richard John King, published in the Appendix to Cotton's *Antiquities of Totnes*.

² *Lysons' Mag. Brit.*

of Warwick, William Rufus having dispossessed him of his Castle of Warwick.

Turchill had two wives. By his first, whose name has been lost, he had a son, Siward de Arden, who was the ancestor of the family of Arden. By his second wife, Leverunia, he had an only son, Osbert, to whose lot, on a division of his father's lands, fell, amongst others, Compton Wyniate (or Compton of the Vineyard),¹ in Warwickshire, from which (the place of his residence) he took the surname of Compton in the sixteenth year of Henry II. Osbert had three sons,—Osbert, who had two daughters only, his coheiresses; Philip, from whom the Northampton family of Comptons are descended; and Peter, who, as before mentioned, took the manor and Castle of Compton, in Devonshire, from Alice de Pole.

The descendants of Peter de Compton remained in possession of the manor and Castle for seven generations,² until the reign of Edward III, when, by the death of William Compton without male issue, it passed to his daughter Joan, one of his coheiresses, who married Jeffery Gilbert of Greenway, com. Devon, son of Thomas Gilbert. In the account of ancient families extinct or removed before 1620, given by Lysons, the arms of this branch of the Comptons are given, *sa.*, a chev. *erm.* between three shovelers *ar.* The arms of the Northampton Comptons, which were first borne by Thomas de Compton, the son of Philip, the brother of Peter, were, *sa.*, three helmets *ar.*, to which Henry VIII added a lion passant guardant *or* (a royal lion) as an honourable augmentation to Sir William Compton, the descendant of Philip, who was Groom of the Stole to that King, and grandfather of Henry, first Baron Compton.

In a paper read by Mr. Charles Spence on Compton Castle, at the united meeting of our Association and the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, on the 23rd of August 1861 (a copy of which I met with on a visit to

¹ Or, as it has been written, Compton Woodyates *alias* Compton-in-the-Hole.

² They were—Robert; William; Robert; William, who died in 12 Edward I; Philip; William, who left two coheiresses; Joan, married to Geoffrey Gilbert; and Susan, married to John Chiderlegh. (Pole's *Description of Devon*, printed 1791.)

Compton Castle after our late Congress meeting there), he says that Compton Castle was formerly "attached to the manor of Paignton, now in Marldon parish"; in confirmation of which he quotes from Dr. Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 174, that "William, son and heir of William Compton, did homage to Bishop Stapledon, 1st April 1311, and produced a deed of John Bishop of Exeter, between 1186 and 1191, reciting the deed of his predecessor, Robert de Chichester (1138 to 1155), granting to Alauric, the son of Cyriac de Compton, and his heirs, four ferlings¹ of land and four acres of land, for the yearly payment of 8s., and answering all the royal services annexed to the said estate. Bishop John was pleased to confirm the grant, and add to it four acres more, viz., two acres on either side of his garden."² This may be true as regards the pieces of land mentioned, but is not reconcileable with the Castle of Compton being held of the manor of Paignton, for that manor is mentioned in *Domesday* as having been parcel of the endowments of the see of Exeter, and as consisting of twenty hides at Peinton. The entry is: "Devenescore.—Terra Ep'i de Exonia. Ipse Ep's ten' Penitone T. R. E. geld. p'xx hides"; while, as we have seen, Compton or Contone is entered as part of the possessions of Iudhel, held by his under-tenant Stephen. The land granted by the Bishops of Exeter, and in respect of which William Compton did homage, must have been land adjoining the Castle, and not lands granted to Iudhel, and through him to Alice de Pole, who gave it to Peter de Compton.

The family of Gilbert, into which we have now traced the Castle of Compton, is descended from Richard, son of Gislebert, who is mentioned in *Domesday* as holding of the King, Leuiston, which Semardus held in the time of King Edward;³ and Robert de Gerebert was witness to a deed in the time of King John, to a church of Bruenor.⁴

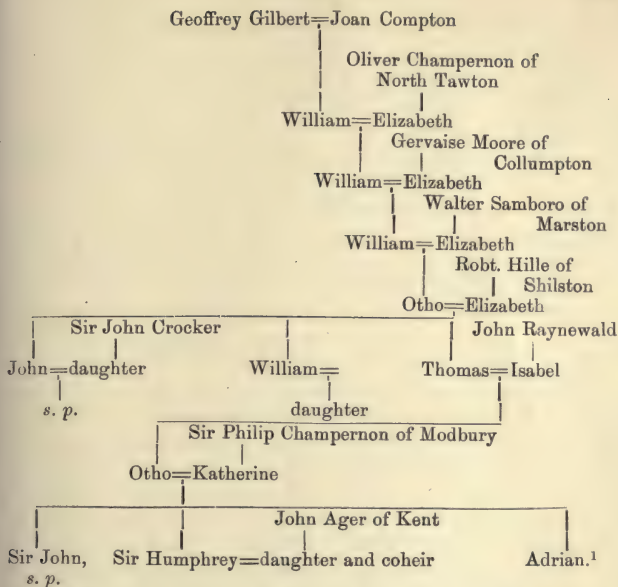
The following pedigree shows the descent from Geoffrey Gilbert :

¹ "Ferlingus", "ferlinguta" (in old records), the fourth part of a yard of land. (Ashe's *Dict.*)

² Stapledon's *Register*, fo. 60.

³ "Richardus filius Gisleberti tenet de Rege Leuiston quod Semardus tenebat tempore Regis Edwardi."

⁴ Westcote's *View of Devon*.

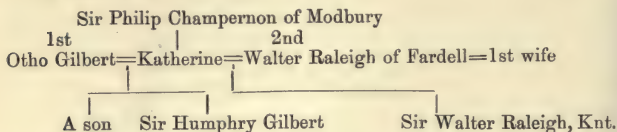


Sir Humphry Gilbert, Knt., a worthy member of this family, was born at Greenway in the parish of Brixham, on the east side of the Dart, a mile above Dartmouth. This gentleman, says Prince in his *Worthies of Devon*,² was second son of Otho Gilbert, of Greenway, Esq., by Katherine his wife, daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Modbury, Knight, who died young. His relict became the second wife of Walter Raleigh of Fardell, in the county of Devon, Esq., whereby he was the uterine brother of the renowned Sir Walter Raleigh, Knt. But Westcote, in his *View of Devonshire*, gives Sir Humphry Gilbert as the second son of Thomas Gilbert, Esq., by Isabel, daughter and heir of John Reynward of Cornwall, who married, secondly, Katherine, daughter of Philip Champernon of Modbury, the relict of Walter Raleigh of Fardel. The difference between these two statements will be seen at a glance by the following pedigrees.

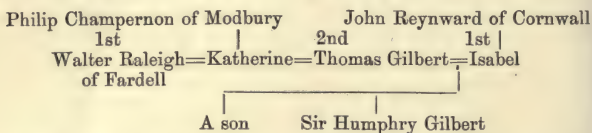
¹ This pedigree has been compiled from Sir William Pole's *Description of Devon*.

² P. 416, ed. 1810.

As stated in Prince's *Worthies* :



As stated in Westcote's *View of Devonshire* :



Sir Humphry Gilbert received knighthood from Queen Elizabeth in the twelfth year of her reign (1570). He betook himself early to sea affairs, and took possession of St. Lawrence River in Canada, and invested the Queen in an estate of two hundred leagues in length, and so established the first settlement of the fishing trade in Newfoundland. He was shipwrecked, and drowned at sea on a second voyage to Newfoundland, after having seen an apparition in the form of a great lion rise out of the sea, which is very graphically described by Fisher. His eldest son was Sir John Gilbert of Greenway and Compton, Knt. He married the daughter of Sir Richard Molyneux of Shefton, Knt., and died 6 James I, without issue, as did all his brethren until the last, whose name was Raleigh Gilbert, who, by the daughter and heir of — Kelly, left issue, Ager Gilbert, Esq., who by his wife, the daughter of Edmund Walrond of Bovey, near Culliton, in the county of Devon, Esq., had issue, Humphry Gilbert, in 1810, of Compton, Esq., who by Joan his wife, eldest daughter of Roger Pomeroy of Sandridge, Esq. (the lineal heir of the Pomeroyes), had issue, three sons, John, Humphry, and Raleigh, and one daughter, Elizabeth.¹

About the year 1604 John Gilbert branched off from the old stock at Compton, and settled at Bletchington in the county of Sussex. The Registers at Marldon show

¹ Prince's *Worthies of Devon*, ed. 1810.

that in 1608, Sir John Gilbert died on the 5th of July, and was brought from London to his mansion-house at Compton on the 16th of the same month, and was buried at Marldon Church on the 19th following. Mr. Gordon Hills conjectures that the owners must have deserted the mansion not many years after; but the estate remained in the Gilbert family for nearly another century. In the year 1705, Nicholas Gilbert marrying the daughter of Sir Nicholas Eversfield of Eastbourne in the county of Sussex, removed thither, where his family (says Fisher in his *Worthies of Devon*, 1810) have resided ever since, Charles Gilbert of Eastbourne being the direct descendant of this branch at that time.

In the latter end of the last century the manor and the remains of the old Castle were purchased by the Templers, a family who possessed considerable landed estates in Devonshire. And they having sold it in parcels, about the year 1808, the Castle or castellated mansion was purchased by Mr. John Bishop, who was the proprietor in 1822, when Lysons wrote their *Mag. Brit.* Since that time it has become successively the property of Francis Garratt, Esq., and its present owner, the Rev. T. A. Bewes, M.A., one of the Vice-Presidents of our Plymouth Congress.

STONE IMPLEMENTS FOUND IN THE THAMES RIVER.

BY DR. JOSEPH STEVENS.

(*Read June 6, 1883.*)

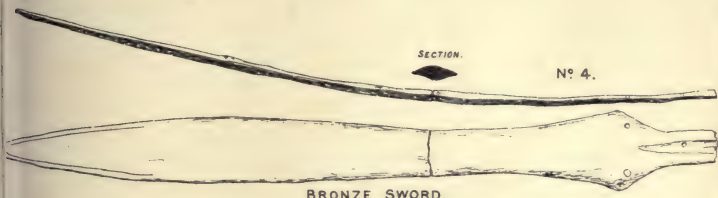
THE following report bears reference to flint and quartzite implements found in a bank of the Thames at Reading; and to implements of flint, greenstone, and quartzite, dredged out of the Thames river lower down, in the neighbourhood of Taplow; and as in the case of both localities there were indications that some early dwellings, if not pile-habitations, were associated with the implements, their discovery is attended with considerable interest.

The two Reading hatchets (see figs. 1, 2) were discovered within a few inches of each other, in April 1882, by a workman employed in digging a trench in an angle of a small island lying between an arm of the Thames, known as "The Clappers", and a smaller branch of the same river, which runs on towards Caversham Mill. The implements lay at about 5 feet in depth, and with them were dug out several large pieces of decayed timber.

My attention being called to the matter, I was enabled to make out, on a superficial examination (extended investigations not being permitted), that at some early period stout logs of oak timber had been deeply embedded in the silt of what was at that time evidently an extension of the river-bed. At the same time, and from the same level, and in close association with the implements, were found bones of red deer, small ox, and dog.

The rubbed hatchet, No. 1, is of close-grained quartzite; in length 8 inches, the sketch showing the natural size. No. 2, which is in length $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, is of yellowish-black flint. It is chipped into shape, and is somewhat curved at its cutting end; the butt being unwrought, for grasping in the hand. From its general character, size, and shape, it appears well adapted for use as a "dig-out", in

PREHISTORIC OBJECTS FOUND AT READING. *etc.*



BRONZE SWORD.

ROUGH (YELLOW) FLINT AXE.

SIDE VIEW.



Nº 3.



Nº 7.



DARK FLINT AXE.



Nº 1.
DARK GREY GREEN
STONE AXE
POLISHED



SECTION

Nº 2.
AXE

ARK NEARLY BLACK
QUARTZITE POLISHED



Nº 1.



Nº 2.

Nº 6.
AXE
QUARTZITE
POLISHED



SECTION

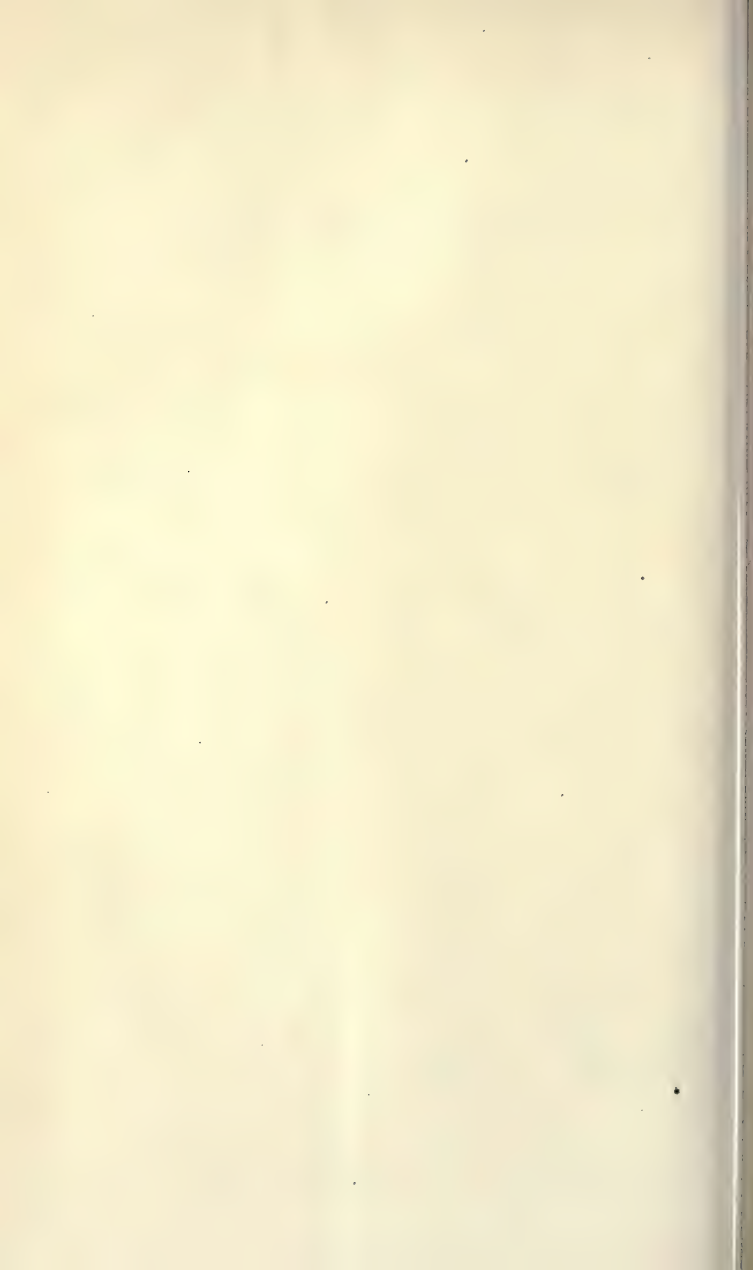


SIDE VIEW OF
Nº 1.



SIDE VIEW OF
Nº 2.

READING.



hollowing out the interior of a canoe, perhaps with the addition of fire. The quartzite axe is also a heavy, powerful instrument; and when hafted, appears precisely the kind of tool for rudely outlining logs of timber for the construction of pile or crannog dwellings.

The small island on which these implements were discovered being isolated, and furnishing the advantages of protection by the surrounding waters, and favourable for the obtainment of food by fishing, is just the kind of place where one would expect to find traces of the habitations of a stone-using people. Both of the implements have been placed in the Reading Museum.

For a notice of the remains found in the Thames in the vicinity of Taplow, I am indebted to Mr. J. Rutland of Taplow, Hon. Secretary of the Berks Archæological and Architectural Society, who has furnished me with the following particulars, together with sketches in outline of the implements, centred with sections of the same. He writes: "In April 1882 the dredgers (employed by Mr. W. Woodhouse, who was building for himself a concrete house on Garston Eyot, at Bray Point) brought up two axes. No. 1 (see sketch) is of dark greenstone polished; No. 2 of dark quartzite, also polished. Three human skulls were found at the same point. Of these, one was retained, and the other two thrown back into the water. At this place the men found some difficulty in their operations, and ascertained that they had struck upon the heads of several piles which had been driven into the bed of the river. A piece broken from one of them proved that they were of oak. In the river-bank, on the Berks side, a great quantity of bones and horns, etc., was found (perhaps a cart-load), consisting of those of ox, bison, red deer, horse, pig, etc.; and I have thought that these, with the timber-piles and hatchets found close by, might indicate that a ford or river-dwelling formerly existed at this spot."

"In August last, at about 300 yards below Maidenhead Bridge, was dredged up a large, roughly cut, yellowish flint axe, No. 3; also a large two-edged bronze sword, leaf-shaped, No. 4. It was broken in the narrow part of the blade, and is now in the British Museum. In December last one other hatchet was dredged up, No. 7, at the

place where the piles are present. It is of dark flint, rudely cut. Some bones similar to those above noted were also brought to the surface, some of which, together with the implement, are in my possession. A little above the bridge, near the Guards' Clubhouse, a quartzite axe (No. 6), a portion of a human skull, bones of red deer, and teeth of ox and horse, were dredged from the river. They are also in my possession. One other hatchet was found in the Thames, opposite 'Leychequers', in Taplow Mill Lane, which I believe was sold to the Manager of the Reading Gas Works."

If we associate these discoveries with others not long since made in the Kennet river, at the Gas Works immediately below the town of Reading, of which a notice appeared in the volume of the British Archaeological Association for 1881, the evidences are conclusive that a people of similar type to the dwellers on the Swiss lakes, at all events in the character of their implements, must have lived along the Thames river in the Reading district. Some of the tools included in the Gas Works series, such as bone awls, drills, and needles, a greenstone axe, cut deer-antlers, and a socket of antler of red deer, bear a close resemblance to those found in the lake-habitations of Switzerland. The dredging up of bronze implements along the river from similar levels from which the polished stone axes are brought up, refers rather to the time of bronze than to the earlier neolithic stone period. Nevertheless, the frequent discoveries of neolithic flint implements at different places on the hills overlooking the Thames valley, particularly on the north or chalk wall of the valley at Caversham, and extending onwards towards Whitchurch, indicate that the district was the scene of human labour and occupation during the stages of progress comprehended under the heads of neolithic and bronze; and to these may confidently be added the palæolithic or older stone period, the drift-gravels at different levels along the Thames valley having furnished abundant evidences of the handiwork of man in the rude flint tools of that period, in association with the bones of extinct mammalia.

ROMAN VILLA AT BENIZZA, CORFU.

BY WALTER MYERS, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read June 7, 1882.)

THE village of Benizza is situated by the sea-shore, eight English miles from the present city of Corfu. A Greek priest working in his plot of land near the shore, found a leaden channel that extended some distance in the earth. Desirous to know to where the channel led, he arrived at the wall of a very old and dilapidated edifice, only one wall of which was visible, and the inside filled with earth. Then rooting up a walnut-tree that grew in the middle of the building, he discovered a chamber of a Roman bath. The roof (then destroyed) showed traces of vaulting by the curves on the lateral walls. The floor in this chamber was laid with mosaic of varied, bright coloured tesserae. Unfortunately this has suffered some damage at the hands of the workmen who excavated the chamber; not so much by their unskilfulness, but from their curiosity to see what might be below.

A,A, is a wall excavated only on the side towards B.

B is a hole now filled up, where were found charcoal and burnt wood.

C,C,C,C, is a chamber which was probably the *caldarium*.

aabb is a stone step descending from the outside to the inside. On each side there are the remains of a wall in shape of an arc of a circle, extending a little beyond the extremity of the step. In the stone on the face of the step are grooves in the direction of its length.

The two angles, c and c, to the right, show that this chamber was vaulted. The walls were lined with marble. Small pieces can yet be seen near the ground.

o is a quadrangular opening surrounded by a border of bricks. Underneath is a chamber of little depth, where can be seen the sort of pillars which support the floor of the apartment, and are made of alternate layers of bricks and clay.

At the angle, c, on the left on entering, the pavement

has been broken to find out what was underneath. An underground passage was found, which goes round the hall with the exception of the portion *o,o,o,o*, which is closed. This passage is vaulted. Its walls are built partly of regular bricks, partly of an unequal mixture of stones and cement.

dd is a leaden pipe which traverses the underground passage, and comes, no doubt, from the centre (*o*), which is separated from the passage by walls.

At the four angles of the four walls which separate the passage from the centre, and in the middle of each of these walls, are conduits of brick which communicate between the passage and the centre.

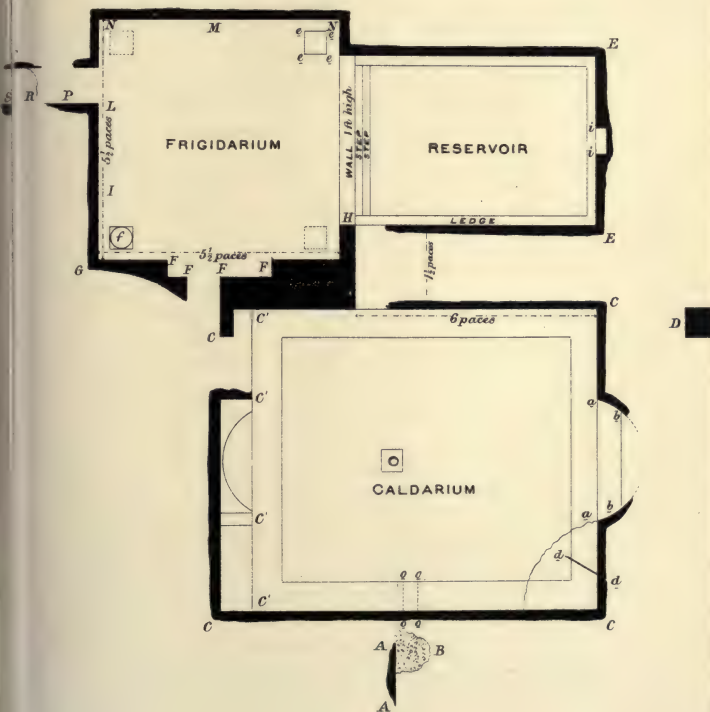
The pavement of this apartment is of a beautiful mosaic; with the exception of the one corner, in good condition. It is made with small tesserae, black, white, red, and yellow, forming geometric designs of much taste.

cc is a small wall, little higher than one's knee. This wall separates from the rest of the room a space in form of a hemi-cycle, of which the level is lower, and appears to be of the same level as the centre, and which appears not to communicate with anything. It was found full of charcoal and burnt wood.

cc, ee, is a second chamber, or rather a passage, six paces long, and one and a half wide. There still remains portion of the semicircular roof with which it was covered. The ground is on a level with the exterior. In the two walls are rectangular openings in a regular line.

ff is the third room, without doubt the *frigidarium*; *ff'*, the door, little more than one pace; *gg*, five paces and a half; *gn*, five paces and a half; *hh*, little more than four paces. This room was also vaulted. There still stands, from *N* to *N*, a very bold arch. At *H*, near the ground, there are traces of a lining of black marble. In one spot traces of a mosaic pavement in black and white can be perceived; but only on a very small space. At *e,e,e,e*, has been found, on clearing the earth away, a block of marble forming a square of about two feet, set in the pavement of mosaic. At *f* there is also in the ground a circular piece of marble surrounded by a quadrangular border. These are, without doubt, two bases of columns. There should be four of them. All the ground of this room is covered with fragments and earth.

ROMAN BATHS. BENIZZA. CORFU.



Note. The plan is a diagram to accompany the paper drawn to a scale of paces.



HH is a little wall, one foot high, on one side of the room; on the other side is a reservoir of water, HHEE, the piscine, into which you descend by a staircase at the angle, H. Reckoning the little wall of separation as the first step, there are four, of which two extend the whole length of the wall of separation.

All around the reservoir a small ledge runs along the wall at the same height as HH. On the north wall, EE, there is a sort of little quadrangular niche, ii; and a little below, the orifice of a round brick conduit, which, without doubt, was used to fill the reservoir. Under the staircase, on the left going down, is another hole for emptying it. The semicircular roof in the direction of HE is still preserved. The wall of the third room, and the reservoir seem to have been lined with stucco. The ledge which runs round the reservoir is also in stucco. The arched ceiling is lined with stucco, and has traces of having been coloured red.

At the angle, H, is a fragment of a round stone vase which was found there. It is about 3 feet in diameter. The height of the ceiling of the reservoir from the ground is about 18 feet.

All around the third room the earth has not been taken away. The walls FGI, LNM, MN, are only dug out on the inside of the room. IL, MN, are entirely closed by the earth. Mounting on this mass of earth, one can see starting out of the earth the walls LP, RS, and T. The opening, RP, is covered by a vaulted arch. In all the adjacent ground traces of old walls can be seen. There was there, in all probability, a Roman villa having its private bath. According to Mr. Romeno, on this side have been found many antique remains.

It is possible that this coast, which is so beautiful, was covered with Roman villas.

The village of Benizza is on the east side of the island, south of the Bay of Khalikiopouli, on a delightful strand, and has magnificent gardens of oranges.

LYDFORD AND ITS CASTLE.

BY R. N. WORTH, ESQ., F.G.S.

(Read at Plymouth, August 1882.)

"*Ubi lapsus ! Quid feci ?*" might well be the motto of Lydford, did it yet lay claim to corporation and arms. Its site is the most suggestive spot in all broad Devon. A little church, a crumbling castle, a few mean houses, some mounds of earth, are all that are left to tell the tale of the olden greatness of a town which was one of the four burghs of the county at the compilation of *Domesday*; which laid claim to be taxed in equal rights with London, York, and Winchester; and which in the days of the Confessor must have almost rivalled Exeter in importance and population. A Celtic hill-fort, a Saxon town, a Norman stronghold, the head of the Stannaries of Devon, the court-place and prison of the royal forest of Dartmoor,—it is now one of the most insignificant of country villages.

Approaching from the higher ground of the gaunt slopes of Black Down, we see at once with what skill its founders chose their site. A long, triangular tongue of land with a rocky gorge on one side, and a deep ravine on the other, accessible on the level from one quarter only, it lies in the midst of a very maze of valleys, which renders the approach circuitous or difficult in the extreme. If it is so now, what must it have been when the neighbourhood was such as is described by Browne in his sarcastic poem :

"This town 's enclosed with desert moors ;
 But where no bear nor lion roars,
 And nought can live but hogs.
 For all o'erturned by Noah's flood,
 Of fourscore miles scare one foot 's good,
 And hills are wholly bogs."

Of the original British settlement there are notable remains in the huge earthworks some distance to the east of the Castle, which traverse the promontory from one ravine or valley to the other, and which are exceptionally

well marked, and still formidable, on the north of the main road through the village, the line being further indicated by a lane which runs in their rear. This rampart I take to mark the utmost limits of the original Lydford; and it would thus correspond precisely in character with the ruder (earlier?) of the so-called Celtic "camps" of the county. The most remarkable point about this earthwork is that none of Lydford's many visitors seem to have recognised its character until I placed its existence upon record in the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* in 1879. This is all, then, that now connects Lydford with the Dunmonii, unless we pray in aid the dedication of the church to St. Petrock, a British saint, which renders it at least possible that Lydford was one of the stations of the elder British Church: indeed, it is highly probable that in the earlier centuries of the Christian era Lydford was the chief centre of population for this district of the county, on the north-western flank of Dartmoor.

Additional likelihood is given to this supposition from the place taken in history by the Saxon Hlidaforda. Under the Saxons, Lydford became one of the three minting towns of Devon, sharing that honour with Exeter and Totnes. Fifteen Lydford pennies of the reign of Ethelred the Unready are known to be extant; and the mint continued in operation during the reigns of Cnut and the first Harold, and presumably to the Conquest. The first recorded event in the history of Lydford is found in the entry of the *Saxon Chronicle*,—how in 997 the Danes sailed up the Tamar, burnt Ordulf's minster at Tavistock, and "went up till they came to Hlidaforda, burning and slaying everything they met." The inference seems to be that they captured Lydford, and that its wealth added to their "incalculable plunder". If so, however, recovery must have been speedy.

Domesday shows that at the date of its compilation Lydford had twenty-eight burgesses within the borough, and forty-one without, which gave it the third place in the county. Forty houses, however, had been laid waste since William came into England; and this would indicate that in the reign of the Confessor it must have been practically on an equality with Totnes, and its rival for

the second place. History is silent as to the causes of this devastation of Lydford. We can hardly doubt that it was connected in some way with the Conquest. It may have arisen from resistance offered to the Norman arms. If so, Lydford is more honoured in its decay than many a proud city in its grandeur.

Of the Saxon days of Lydford there are not any certain material traces. The plain, round font in the church, commonly regarded as Norman, may, however, very well be earlier; nor can we definitely date some of the older nave-masonry. If, as is possible, the Saxon added to the earthworks of the Celt a wooden "strength", then the present Castle mound may also represent Saxon times.

The square Castle is distinctly Norman in plan, and the only true keep in the district. Many towns trace their origin to the castle round which they grew. Here the Castle is directly or indirectly the child of the town. The first record of the existence of a castle at Lydford, that I have been able to discover, is an entry in the Close Rolls, July 31, 1216, of the grant by King John to William Briwere of the "castrum de Lidford", with all its appurtenances, to be held during pleasure. Since, however, it was the Stannary prison, and since John gave the tinnerns of Devon the right of imprisonment, in their charter of 1201, we may infer that earlier date. My belief is that the Castle was built in the latter part of the twelfth century, forming one of the border fortresses by which the roads skirting Dartmoor were commanded. This seems to me also to agree with the late Norman character of the earlier portion of the building, the south-eastern angle. Here there are slits deeply splayed internally, like some square-headed loops in other parts of the fabric, but with bold, round-headed, external splays also. The low pointed entrance-doorway is, however, like the doorways in the partition-wall, apparently of later date. The walls are all of small stones; and the Castle has been so much pulled about, and so frequently repaired, that it does not seem easy to place many portions. It was thoroughly dismantled under the Commonwealth, and for more than half a century lay exposed to the depredations of the villagers. Somewhere about 1705 it was restored, and it was again repaired early in the present century.

The building was, in fact, habitable within living memory; but when Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt procured the removal of the local courts of the Duchy of Cornwall from Lydford to Prince Town, the Castle fell into deeper decay than ever, and has now long consisted simply of bare walls. The recorded history of the fabric thus shows just such an amount of interference with the character of the original structure as present appearances would indicate.

The base court has its earthen ramparts still fairly intact. Like the building itself, it is of small dimensions. The lower story of the Castle consisted of three apartments, one large and two small. The chamber immediately on the left of the entrance has in its floor a deep pit, the "most hainous, contagious, and detestable" dungeon, of which Browne wrote,—

"Than lie therein one night, 't is guessed,
'T were better to be stoned and pressed,
Or hanged, ere you came hither."

The upper story contained the great hall, and one apartment adjoining over the two smaller ones below. It is approached by stairs in the thickness of the wall; and from the hall a similar flight leads to the roof. At the head of the principal flight of stairs, immediately without the entrance to the hall, in the angle, is a garderober; and there is another garderober in the opposite angle of the front, opening from the smaller room on the upper floor.

This description is, of course, merely an outline, intended to indicate the general character of this interesting structure, which well deserves a fully detailed and illustrated memoir.

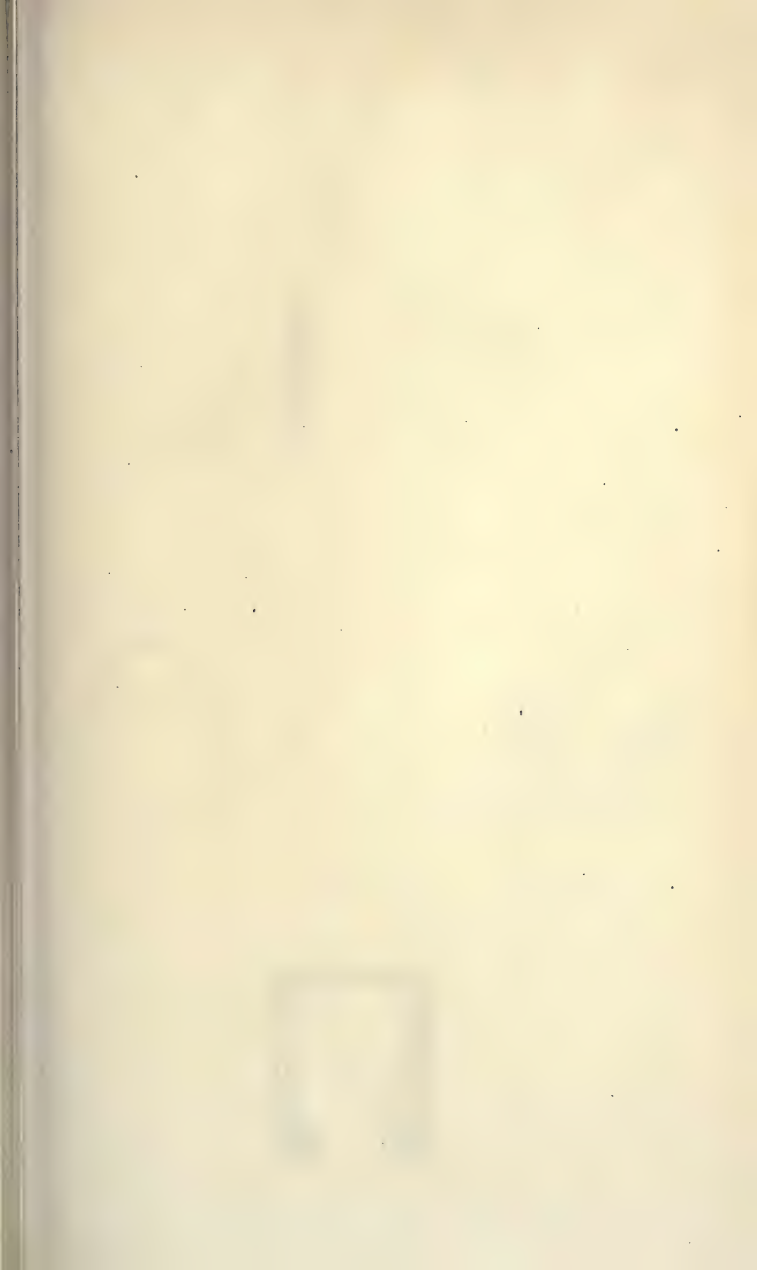
One other point claims notice. "Lydford law" has won proverbial ill fame. It is commonly interpreted, "hang first, and try after"; and Browne commences his famous poem, already cited, with the stanza,—

"I oft have heard of Lydford law,
How in the morn they hang and draw,
And sit in judgment after.
At first I wondered at it much;
But now I find their reason such
That it deserves no laughter."

The popular local belief is that the saying originated in

the cruelties of Judge Jeffreys, whose ghost, in the shape of a black pig, is doomed to haunt the ancient walls. But Jeffreys never sat at Lydford. Moreover, Browne's reference is of earlier date, and was prompted by the oppressions of Sir Richard Grenville, who used the Castle as a prison for such Roundheads as he deemed worth the keeping. The view commonly accepted by writers on the subject has been that the allusion is to the incarceration, under the Stannary laws, of Richard Strode, M.P. for Plympton, in the reign of Henry VIII. Strode, however, was imprisoned by due legal process, and brought his fate upon himself (being a tinner) by his offences against the Stannary laws. Moreover, we can carry the saying more than a hundred years earlier, for "the law of Lydford" is mentioned in a satirical poem of the reign of Richard II. My suggestion is that the evil repute of "Lydford law" is really due to the oppressive manner in which the forest laws were administered in the Lydford forest courts. These exercised jurisdiction over the whole of Dartmoor, which yet lies within Lydford parish.

I have only to add that Lydford was a parliamentary borough in the reign of the first three Edwards, and retained its mayor and corporation until the middle of the last century. The coroner was always "the oldest and most gray-headed man in the place."

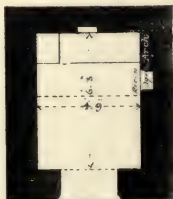




Elevation.



Section.



Plan.

ST. JULIAN'S WELL-CHAPEL
AT
MOUNT-EDGCUMBE.

BY JAMES HINE, ESQ.

(Read at Plymouth, August 1883.)

PROBABLY the smallest and most ancient example of that curious, and to some extent unexplained, class of buildings, the Cornish well-chapel, is this little building at Mount-Edgcumbe. Its internal dimensions are only 6 ft. 3 ins. by 4 ft. 9 ins.; and it is vaulted over by an equilateral stone arch formed by level courses of masonry, with a central chamfered rib resting on moulded corbels. The doorway, or rather gateway (because there was no door), had also a pointed arch springing from the same line as the vault. The proportions are as simple as they are beautiful, and the details and character of masonry fix the period, approximately, as that of the early part of the fourteenth century.

It appears not to have been thought essential that these well-chapels should stand east and west, like parish churches; and whilst St. Cleather Chapel follows that position, this little building is placed north and south.

At the southern or fountain end is a niche which probably contained a figure of the patron saint. In the western side, near the fountain, is another and lower recess with an ogee chamfered head corresponding with the other. The original jambs of the doorway, the ribs and corbels of roof, and the niches, are of a green free-stone from the parish of Landrake. The rest of the masonry is of more local stone. There was a thin coating of plaster on the walls and vault inside. The pavement was of red and green glazed tiles, fragments of which have been found.

This interesting little structure has recently been restored by its noble possessor and careful guardian, the Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe, one of the Vice-Presidents of this Association.

Cornwall has many of these well-chapels; some in a

tolerably perfect state, others in ruins; many others have been barbarously destroyed. There is much yet to be learnt respecting them. We know of the virtue which their waters were supposed to possess, and of the lingering superstitions still connected with them. We know that the worship of fountains, or rather the deities with which popular mythology associated them, was general in primitive and classic times; but what were the sacred and distinctive functions performed in these small Christian well-chapels,—some situated near the parish church (as in this instance), others more solitary and remote?

NOTES ON SOME OF THE INSCRIPTIONS ON CONTINENTAL BELLS.

BY ALFRED C. FRYER, PH. D., M.A.

(*Read May 16, 1883.*)

MUCH has and may still be written on the subject of bells, and the quaint mottoes which adorn them. Their history dates into the far-away past. They were worn on the vestments of priests long before the days of Moses; they adorned the robes of Persian kings; and Zechariah speaks of a time when there shall be "upon the bells of horses, holiness unto the Lord"; Greek warriors used them when they made their rounds among the guards; bells were rung at the Temple of Dodona; in Rome the night-watchmen carried them, and a bell was rung to announce the hour for bathing.

The name of Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, in Campania, has long been associated with their history; but Hospi-nianus mentions that bells were not used by the Church until nearly five hundred years after Christ. We read that Clothaire II raised the siege of Sens, and fled from the place in consequence of a panic of fear when the bells of the city were rung. The Venerable Bede says that at the death of St. Hilda, one of the sisters of a distant monastery, as she was sleeping, thought she heard the bell which called to prayers when any of them departed this life. This special instance had reference to the passing-bell. The use of large bells in England was mentioned by our venerable historian as early as the year 670. The Saxon King Egbert ordered every priest at "proper hours to sound the bells of his church, and then go through the sacred offices to God." Turketul, Abbot of Croyland, hung the first peal in an English belfry. He firstly presented to the Abbey a large bell called "Guth-lac", and he afterwards added six others, named Pega, Bega, Bettelim, Bartholomew, Tatwine, and Turketul.

The dedication of bells, and the inscriptions that are so often found upon them, are in many instances curious

and quaint. So much has been written on our own bells that I venture to lay before the British Archæological Association a few notes on the inscriptions on some of the Continental bells. On a bell in the Thomasturm, at Leipzig, is found :

“Gott helfe dass mein Klang und Schall
Viel lange Zeit gehöret werd’
Bei Jung und Alt und überall
Samml’ Gottes Wort auf dieser Erd.’”

While on a bell in the parish church at Marburg we read :

“So lang’ ich sitze, bin ich stumm,
Doch schwing’ ich mich im Turm herum
Und werf’ mein’ Zungen hin und her,
So ruf’ ich dich zü Gottes Ehr’,
Zu Predigt, Orgel und Gesang.
Den Dieb ruf’ ich zum Galgenstrang,
Den Wittwen bring’ ich Traurigkeit,
Dem Brautpaar bring’ ich frohe Zeit,
Auch des creirten Doktors Ruhm
Verhünd’ ich in der Stadt herum.
Zu Märkten, Schlachten und zu Brand
Ruf’ ich die ganze Stadt zu Hand;
Was man verlies’t bei meinem Schall
Ein jeder Bürger wissen soll.”

On a bell at Altmarck the following couplet may be seen :

“Anna bin ick genannt
Wenn ick rufe, so kommt to Hand.”

And another couplet on a bell at Marienhafen in Ostfriesland :

“Dem ich die letzte Uhr thu’ schlagen,
Ach Gott, rette den aus allen Plagen.”

On a bell at Steckborne this Latin inscription may be traced :

“Colo verum Deum,
Plebem voco et congreco clerum,
Divos adoro
Festa decoro
Defunctos ploro,
Pestem daemonesque fugo.”

On a bell in the old Minster at Ulm may still be read :

“Flos ego campana nunquam denuncio vana,
Bellum vel festum, flammam vel funus honestum.”

The following inscriptions are arranged in order of dates :

- "Pulsor pro signis
Missa popularis et ignis."
Zurich, 1262.
- "Quater sum nata, quater Christina vocata."
St. Pantaleon, Cologne, 1313.
- "Cantum reddo Choris vetitum pro singulis horis."
Cologne Cathedral, 1448.
- "Defunctos ploro, tero fulgura, festa decoro,
Laudendo Petro coeli clavigero :
Anna sum nata, dominique Maria vocata."
Cologne, St. Petri, 1418.
- "O Maria Mutter Gottes Zell,
Hab' in deiner Hut, was ich überschell."
Frauenmünster, Zurich, 1419.
- "Hilf Maria, und dein liebes Kind,
Dass ich vertreib mit meinem Schall
Die schädlichen Wetter, Regen, Wind
Uf Bergen und in Thal."
Stallikon in Switzerland, 1447.
- "Hilf Maria, wer mich hör'
Dass ich ihm alles Leid, zerstör'."
Parish church, Fehraltorf, 1485.
- "An dem Teufel will ich mich rächen
Mit der Hilfe Gottes alle Wetter zerbrechen."
Church at Wangen, 1511.
- "O Maria, du reine Maid,
Behüt uns hier und dort vor Leid."
Parish church, Brütten, 1511.
- "Sanctus Martinus bin ich genannt,
Den von Markolendorf wohlbekannt,
Dess müssen sie oft und viel geniessen,
Darum sie mich auch liessen giessen."
Markolendorf, 1557.
- "Zelo fusa bono Campanis priscis consono
Fulgura non frango, nec plango morte peremptos."
Schaffhausen, 1604.
- "Divorum vanis servivi cultibus olim
Scilicet sic voluit coeca superstitia.
At nunc, Christe, tuo servire unius honori,
Vera fides, Pietas, religioque jubent."
Bern Minster, 1611.
- "Ein alt Sprechwort, das lautet fein :
Der guten Dinge drei soll sein
Also drei Glocken in einem Jahr
Ein' gemeind' zu Schlieren führt hierher

Von Zürich aus der werten Stadt ;
Herr Peter Füssli die gossen hat."

1628.

"Gottes Hilf' hab' ich genossen,
Durch Feuer bin ich geflossen,
Peter Kaufmann hat mich gegossen."

Rathaus in Cologne, 1644.

"An einer Glocken kaun man spüren
Die Ding', so einem Prediger gebühren :
Gott loben und führen in regster Lehr',
Das Volk versammeln rings umher
Zur Kirchen und zu aller Zucht :
Bringt gut Exempel und gute Frucht."

Germsee, 1650.

"Nuper fusa fui demisso coelitus igni
Nova iterum fundor sacra sonare valens."

Lausanne, 1674

"Sankt Martin nennt man mich,
Zum Dienst Gottes ermahne ich,
Den Donner zerschlage ich,
Die Todten beklage ich,
Die Sünder bekehre ich,
Dass du lebest ewiglich
Edmund Pipin in Cöllen goss mich."

Cologne, "Klein-Martin", 1721.

"Anno 1441 ward ich zuerst gebracht in Stande.
Anno 1637 der Schwede diese Stadt abbrandte,
Doch wunderlich erhielt mich Gott
In der so grossen Feuersnoth.
Anno 1656 Churfürst Johann Georgens Todesfall
Benahm im Trauern mir den Schall,
Aber durch Gottes Güt' und Gnad'
Anno 1661 billig mich umgossen hat,
Doch, da ich darauf betrauern wollt'
Den Tod des Kaisers Leopold (Anno 1703),
Verlor ich ein gross Stück Metall
Un büsste ein den vorigen Hall.
Bis jetzt durch Gottes grosse Gnad
Mich Weinhold neu gefertigt hat.
Sic me fieri Senatus loci fecit 1753."

Church at Schmiedeberg.

"Gegossen aus des Papstthums Erz (1770)
Zerschlug zu der Bedrängten Schmerz
Mich Unverstand nach 40 Jahren (1810)
In Zeiten, wo durch Bonapart
Die Deutschen nackt und Sklaven waren ;
Bloss klappern konnt' ich bis der Frost
Und Moskaus Flammen Hilfe weckten,
Bis Wellingtons und Blüchers Arm
Die Franzen in Paris selbst schreckte (1814-1815)
Hier kehrte sich durch neuen Guss (1816)
Mein Vollton zu des Retters Gruss." Gross-Flöthe.

REMARKS ON THE
ROMAN MOSAIC PAVEMENTS AT BRADING,
ISLE OF WIGHT.

BY THOS. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

(*Read April 6, 1881.*)

ON the 19th of May last year we had an account of a Roman villa then lately discovered at Brading, Isle of Wight, communicated by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., and a sketch of one of the pavements found there was figured in our *Journal*, xxxvi, p. 363. Since that time excavations have been systematically made, and a report drawn up by Messrs. John E. Price, F.S.A., and F. G. Hilton Price; and as those gentlemen have taken up the matter, and will probably soon be issuing a further report upon the villa generally, it would be unbecoming in me, and altogether premature, to enter at this time upon a discussion either of the plans of the villa or of the articles which have been found in it; but as regards the mosaic pavements before referred to, and of which accounts by various writers have been printed, I may be allowed, perhaps, to say a few words with a view to a discussion of the matter; and I must ask your indulgence if the conjectures put forward do not agree with any of the other explanations which have been given; and mine, therefore, must be taken with reserve.

The chamber which this pavement adorns measures 15 ft. 6 ins. by 17 ft. 6 ins., the ornamental centre being 9 ft. 6 ins. by 10 ft. 6 ins., and the margins of the pavement are chequered. This is the measurement given by Messrs. Price; and the chamber is numbered 3 in their plan. Not having yet visited the spot, though I hope to do so before I again speak on the subject, my opinion has been formed on the photographs only, and the drawings published, as well as from the acquaintance I have of other mosaics in England and elsewhere.

In the centre is a circular medallion surmounted by a labyrinth fret-border, on which is depicted the head of a

young person with flowing hair, which might be either Apollo or Bacchus, these two being the only gods of the ancients who are represented with flowing locks, and enjoy the privilege of eternal youth,—

“Solis æterna est Phœbo, Bacchoque juventa,
Nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque Deum.”

Tibullus, lib. i, *Eleg.* 4.

A stem or thyrsus, with small cross-piece at the top, rests on his left shoulder ; a crown of leaves is entwined in the hair.

Each corner of the square has apparently been cut off by a quarter circle, though one only of these corners remains, containing a female head, against whose right shoulder rests also a stem with small cross-piece at top, like that in the central medallion. The spaces between the four corner compartments were filled by interesting pictures: one of these, however, that to the east, or above the head of Bacchus, has perished, if it ever existed. The three remaining are,—No. 1, to the south, which contains, on the left of the picture, a man clothed in a tunic or sort of smock-frock ; and in place of a human head he has that of a cock with comb and wattles, and his human legs terminate in the claws of a cock with spurs. In the background, near the centre of the picture, is a house with a ladder of four steps leading up to the door ; and on the right are two beasts, apparently panthers or leopards, the one turned to the right, and the other to the left. Some think they have wings, and call them griffins ; but they may be winged panthers, or the wings may be conventional arrows shot after them. No. 2, on the west, is the figure of a gladiator, a *retiarius*, with trident and short sword, who may be supposed to have entangled in his net his opponent, whose figure is lost, though a portion of his shield may be seen as well as part of the net. No. 3, on the north, represents a fox leaping at, and beneath, a vine in front of a dome-shaped building partly destroyed, which may be a wine-press.

Mr. Mayhew seems to incline to the opinion that these designs are entirely Bacchic, though he also mentions the theory of their having some gnostic signification, the cock-man having been taken for Abraxes, though he shows good reasons for disallowing this conjecture.

Mr. Cornelius Nicholson, F.S.A., in his account of the villa in the *Antiquary*, January 1881, suggests that the cock-man may be a caricature of the Christian religion, or of the reigning Emperor Gallienus, and he quotes Miss Frances Cobbe's hypothesis that he may be the Alectryon of Lucian. You will remember that dialogue of Lucian between Mycullus the shoemaker and a philosophical cock who speaks with a human voice, and turns out to be a Pythagorean, and one who remembers the different changes his body had undergone since he was first a large white ant in India. From this he became a courtesan, changing afterwards into the form of a Cynic philosopher; and even after this his metempsychosis did not bring him to his present form of a cock till after he had passed into the cold-blooded body of a frog. The shoemaker with difficulty restrained his anger, aroused by the cock crowing at midnight instead of his proper time in the small hours of the morning; and the more so as this half-starved cobbler had been awakened out of a delightful dream, in which wealth and plenty were at command; and now the disenchanting cobbler awoke to his wretched hovel, his last, and his shoe-leather. But this is rather beside the question; and there seems no collateral evidence that our mosaic at Brading represents this scene.

Mr. Nicholson considers that the head in the central medallion may be that of Jupiter, with which opinion I do not agree, for the reasons stated.

I will venture to suggest, with due deference to the opinions of others, another explanation of the pictures. I think it not necessary to go so far afield to interpret these designs, which admit of a more simple solution. The head of Bacchus in the medallion may be compared with any of the heads of this god on the pavements of Stonesfield, Frampton, Cirencester, Thruxton, and on that found in London on the site of the old India House. Ovid¹ tells us how he was born in a blaze of fire, and carried off to Nysa or to Naxos by the nymphs, who were the "Hours", and who concealed him from the sight of his jealous mother-in-law, Juno, by covering him up in his cradle with ivy-leaves, which he ever after wore in

¹ *Fasti*, iii, 503-4, 769-70.

his crown ; and after this time the poor child was kidnapped by the Tyrrhenian pirates, but being the son of a god, though his mother was a mortal, he changed all the sailors into fishes, except one, Acetes, who became his high-priest. He was on very intimate terms with Neptune, god of the sea, which accounts for the many representations of Naiads, sea-leopards, sea-horses, fishes, and especially dolphins, a kind of fish supposed by the ancients to be very fond of man, as shown by their saving men, and swimming ashore with them, as they did to the musician Arion who fell into the sea,—lyre, uniform, and all. We saw a variety of these inhabitants of the deep portrayed on the Roman pavement visited by us at Bromham, in Wiltshire, the other day.

The cup or *cantharus* of Bacchus, with two handles, is a favourite ornament of the mosaics.

So much for Bacchus. The seasons in the corners are somewhat conjectural, as only one remains ; but we see the corners occupied by similar divinities on the other mosaic in this building, as well as at Littlecote, Cirencester, and Thruxton, also in that beautiful pavement from Carthage, now in the British Museum, and described in *Archæologia*, xxxviii, p. 222.

We will now pass to the three larger pictures, which I take to be the hours or rather periods of the day. No. 1 seems to represent early morn or cock-crow ; No. 2, afternoon ; No. 3, evening or sunset ; and I will explain my meaning. The figure in the smock is dressed like a *lanista*, very much as he appears on the Bignor pavement. He was the keeper and instructor of the gladiators, who were shut up together in a house, or rather prison, and brought out to fight with wild beasts at early dawn or cock-crow.¹ Seneca informs us of this :² “*Mane leonibus et ursis, homines meridie spectatoribus suis objiciebantur*” ; and Martial (x, 25) says :

“*In matutinâ nuper spectatus arenâ.*”

And, again (xiii, 95), Horace relates an early morning conversation :

“*Threx est Gallina Syro par ?*

Matutina parum cautos jam frigora mordent.”³

¹ On the left of the scene the wild beasts are shown clearly enough.

² *Epist.*, lib. i, 7.

³ *Sat.* II, v. 44, 45.

("Is the Thracian Gallina a match for the Syrian? And these morning frosts nip those who are not very careful.") But this conversation in the early morning referred to what would be going on later in the day. The Romans began their work at daybreak; and the business of the day was pretty well over at midday, when they indulged in rest, or a *siesta* and light meal, and after midday began the amusements. It was then men fought with men; and this introduces the scene No. 2. A Thracian with his round shield, or a *mirmillo*, a Gaul with the figure of a fish on his helmet, fought with the *retiarius* armed with a net and trident, as is seen on the mosaic. A similar scene is shown on the pavement at Bignor, represented, however, by winged Cupids.

Then comes the next scene, No. 3, which seems to be eventide, represented by the fox who then lurks about among the vineyards to eat the grapes.¹

This room then exemplifies, in scenes of Roman life, the hours and the seasons, and the Bacchic image, to suit the prevalent Epicurean ideas, which had banished the Muses to the antechamber, as said Juvenal (*Sat.* vii, 7):

"Esuriens migravit in atria Clio";

that is, that hungry Clio had to migrate to the atrium; but when he said Clio he meant to include the other Muses, and those more spiritual and intellectual doctrines which were advocated by the Stoics, the Academicians, and the Peripatetics.

The history of mythology must be studied chronologically if it is to be made available for insight into life and manners. Thus the gods, as understood in the days of Homer and Hesiod, differ from those of the tragic poets of Greece; and these again suffer some metamorphosis in the early days of the Roman empire, either in nature, name, or parentage; while the latter days of the declining empire brought about new combinations. The mosaics of Brading date probably from a period not very long

¹ This is the third division of the day, inaugurated by the *cæna*, which answers to our late dinner at five o'clock, as it used to be taken at the beginning of this century with us. Pliny rose from supper, and retired to rest; but he began his studies again between twelve o'clock at night and two o'clock in the morning, according to the season.

anterior to a work called *Dionysiaca*, in forty-eight books, which is written in flowing Greek hexameters, and describes the origin and achievements of Bacchus. The author was one Nonnus of Panopolis, or the town of Pan, in Egypt, and was nearly contemporary with the poets Claudian and Ausonius. We may discover in these authors a similarity of feeling with the designs of the mosaics.

Agriculture was considered a panacea for the evils of the times ; and it was thought that by increasing the yield of corn, satisfying the hunger of the half-starved populations, and guarding against famines, revolutions and wars might be stayed. The *Horæ*, or Seasons, daughters of Jupiter and Themis (that is of Heaven and of Law), are named by Hesiod, *Eunomia*, Order ; *Dike*, Justice ; and *Eirene*, Peace ; who watch over the works of men. They were at first three only ; increased afterwards to twelve, to accommodate them to the months of the year.

Then we have the beautiful myth of Ceres, who taught men to bury their wealth in the earth for a time, that it might be restored to them a hundredfold, as her daughter Proserpine was taken to the shades below, from Sicily, to marry Plutus the god of wealth, and reappear in due time on earth with her golden acres. We have the emblem of the necessary irrigation of the corn in the person of Arethusa, nymph of the fountain in Achaia, who, pursued by another river-god, Alpheus, had passed even under the sea into Sicily to avoid her pursuer ; but he followed her there, and the fountain and stream were united.

Then Pan, lord of the woods and plains, whose name, from Πᾶν, the feeder, displays his bucolic origin, and the Satyrs whose goats' legs proclaim their occupation of goat-herds, and the motley train, all tell of the praises of husbandry ; not to speak of young Ampelus, the Satyr, who was changed into a vine. Presiding over this festive scene is Bacchus, the creative principle, the multiplier of the flocks and herds, the friend of the human race, the adored of his frenzied *thiasus*, or bands of women, *Bacchæ*, *Menades*, *Thyiades*, and *Euades*. Then we have the exploits of Bacchus in India, where he subdued even tigers and

panthers under the influence of human industry and civilisation. In returning home he looked in at Phrygia, and the goddess Cybele taught him to drive her car drawn by lions. So that he received altogether a very practical education.

On his return to Greece he fell under the displeasure of the cruel Lycurgus, a king of Thrace, and had to jump into the sea to save himself; but Thetis was very kind, and the god was always grateful for the assistance afforded him. The grandfather of the god was Cadmus, Prince of Thebes, who imported letters and civilisation into Europe; and Bacchus was the offspring of Semele, the youngest of his four daughters, the other three being Autonoe, Ino, and Agave. Autonoe, the eldest of the four, was mother of Actæon, that great sportsman, and friend of Diana, whose unhappy fate is so often portrayed on the mosaics, when in the act of being changed into a stag, and torn to pieces by his own hounds, because he had come suddenly upon the goddess when she was bathing in a river, and the pride of Diana could never brook this intrusion.

Hercules is connected with Bacchus in the mythology, performing prodigies of valour beneficial to mortals, though imposed as a punishment on himself. One of his labours was cutting off the heads of the Hydra, which meant the filling up marshy streams, and banking them up when they burst out afresh.

The connexion of Bacchus with Neptune and Amphitrite and his marine crew was intimate. The three thousand nymphs were the river-streams rolling into the ocean, which was peopled with old as well as young, Nereus the aged, and the young Nereids. Triton and Phorcus, Proteus and Glaucus, dwelt among the dolphins, the sea-horses, and the fishes.

In these myths are portrayed the occupations of primitive life, agriculture, pasturage, irrigation and drainage, hunting and fishing. These all find a conspicuous place in the poems of Nonnus and the poets of his time. We have evidence of the important part Britain played in the production of corn when it was re-united to the Roman empire after the ten years' usurpation of Carausius and Allectus.

What I have said is further illustrated in the next series of mosaics, covering a long gallery (chamber No. 12 in Price's plan), 40 ft. by 18 ft. In the centre is a circular medallion representing Orpheus with Phrygian cap and flowing robe, seated with his lyre, and by his side are a monkey, a fox, a peacock, and a crow. This is a subject which has been often and well treated at Withington, Woodchester, Littlecote, Horkstow, and Winton. Orpheus was a superior divinity to Bacchus, a god by both father and mother; his father being Apollo, and his mother the Muse Calliope; whereas Bacchus, though the son of Jupiter himself, had Semele, a mortal, for his mother. Orpheus was the very expression of the civilising element. His lyre was a more divine instrument than the Pan's pipe of the Bacchic crew, and he took altogether a higher tone, though, with the Muses, he may have been banished to the atrium in the houses of a sensual generation. He was not mentioned by Homer or Hesiod, therefore must have been of later introduction.

At the west end of this gallery was a mosaic pavement almost square; that is, 13 ft. 6 ins. by 13 ft. 10 ins. In this were three divisions around a central, circular medallion; but all were nearly destroyed, though there appeared the remains of a small house, as in No. 3. There were four semicircles at the corners, of which one only was destroyed, and the other three contained representations of the seasons. Spring seemed to be destroyed. That with Ceres I should take to be summer; and autumn to be that with the red spots, probably mulberries, as in the pavement from Carthage, in the British Museum. Winter is a female figure closely wrapped up, and wearing a *cucullus* or hood, while in her left hand she holds a leafless bough, from which is suspended a dead bird. Of the oblong panels remaining, one represents Perseus and Andromeda. It will be remembered that he was the grandson of Acrisius, who the oracle had foretold should be the death of his grandfather.

At the east end of this gallery is a central medallion with the head of Medusa with her usual head-dress of snakes; and round this are four medallions, each containing a male and female figure, the subjects of which are described as—No. 1, Ceres and Triptolemus; 2, Arethusa

and Alpheus; 3, Hercules and Omphale, showing the Amazonian axe with double edge,—a trophy from one of his most difficult exploits; No. 4, Daphnis and Terpsichore, the former with his Pandean pipe, playing to the Muse, who is dancing, with the accompaniment of her *tympanum* or tambourine. On a square panel dividing the two ends of this gallery is one of the most interesting designs. A male figure, wearing a black beard, is seated in a chair: on his left hand is a pillar surmounted by what has been taken for a gnomon, or sundial, divided into twelve compartments. Beneath this is a globe or sphere on three legs. This figure is considered by Mr. Nicholson to be Harpocrates, though there is no particular evidence of its being that great astronomer any more than Meton or Archimedes among the ancients. Claudian wrote a poem on the sphere of Archimedes, and said,

“Jamque suum volvens audax industria mundum
Gaudet et humanâ sidera mente regit.”

I remember to have seen a brazen sphere, supposed to be of about this date, in the Archæological Museum at Madrid. If the astronomer should be of a date nearer to the times of this mosaic, why may he not have been intended for a Ptolemy or even a Censorinus? This must be left to conjecture; but great must have been the influence of astronomy at this time, when the various characters referred to, guardians of mortals and benefactors of our race, were mostly carried to heaven. Thus Ariadne, the wife of Bacchus, so cruelly deserted by him, as she had been before by Theseus in the Isle of Naxos, and petrified by the dread Medusa's head, was transported to the skies, and her crown of nine stars is still seen in the heavens, near the Pole. So is the lyre of Orpheus and the cup of Bacchus, as well as Perseus and Andromeda, and their parents Cepheus and Cassiopeia. The horse Pegasus is seen in the skies, as well as the dolphin who was so useful to Neptune in procuring his wife Amphitrite. “*Sic itur ad astra.*”

In all this mythology there is much to admire, and though there is also much to approve in the manners of primitive life, yet we cannot shut our eyes to the grossness and obscenity of many of the religious observances,

and to the blots in the social life of the Romans. This demoralising influence had arrived at such a pitch that if the early Christians went too far in an opposite direction, we must admit and be thankful for the great improvement and purification of both religion and morals which superseded the old system ; and while admitting all this, we may still study with pleasure and profit the manners of our forefathers in Britain in Roman times ; and if I have expatiated too much upon the mythology, let us remember that these mosaics were the prototypes of the wonderful mosaics of Constantinople and of Venice, and at a later period they, perhaps, gave the idea of light pictures to the authors of those beautiful stained glass windows, the small and irregular pieces of which have not been surpassed in effect of light and colour by the productions of later times.

ON THE PILLAR OF ELISEG, NEAR VALLE CRUCIS, Co. DENBIGH.

BY M. H. BLOXAM, ESQ., F.S.A.

WHEN I undertook to describe that British monument of fame, the well known Pillar of Eliseg, I was not aware of the task to which I had subjected myself. The elucidation of such a subject ought to have been the work of a learned Welsh antiquary, and of such there are many fully conversant with early Welsh history, of which I must profess my ignorance, and with those early pedigrees, of which that on this pillar (perhaps the earliest lapidary inscribed pedigree in this country) carries us back for generations. Of the numerous inscribed *post*-Roman memorial stones in this country, extending from the sixth to the ninth century, the Pillar of Eliseg is the most remarkable.

These memorial or inscribed sepulchral stones are mostly rude and unshapen monoliths, with the inscriptions irregularly incised in misformed letters; altogether dissimilar to the regularly formed and sculptured sepulchral monuments and altars of the Roman era, with their well cut inscriptions. Those of the *post*-Roman period (that is, of the Britons after the Romans) are oft-times inscribed in a corrupted and false Latinity; sometimes in a few words only, not disposed horizontally, but vertically; and in many cases merely contain the name of the person commemorated, and of his father, as that on the Margam mountain (the Bodvoc Stone), commonly called the "Maen Llythyrog." On this the inscription is as follows:

"Bodvoc hic iacit
+ Filius Catotisirni
Pronepus Eternali
Vedomavi."

But I must not trespass on the store of knowledge Professor Westwood, our great authority, has bestowed on these ancient inscribed stones. His *Lapidarium Walliæ*,

now in the course of publication in parts, ought to be in the hands of every gentleman of archæological pursuits. But as yet he has not given attention to Eliseg's Pillar. When this is the case, we may fairly expect to have a more faithful, accurate, and critical account than any I can give, and than any that has hitherto appeared.

But as to these *post*-Roman inscriptions of the Britons after the Romans. They are to be found chiefly in Wales, next to Wales in Cornwall, and a few in Devon. I hardly know in what other county they occur. Near to Yarrow, in the North, on the estate of the Duke of Buccleuch, is a rude, inscribed monolith of this description, which is more lengthy than we generally find ; but in length, the inscription on the Pillar of Eliseg bears the sway. I can find no mention of this monument in Leland or the early editions of Camden, neither of whom appears to have seen it or had any knowledge of it. As far as I have been able to ascertain, it was first noticed by Archbishop Usher about the middle of the seventeenth century. He transmitted an account of his discovery to Dr. Gerard Langbaine, a learned divine of those days. The Pillar was thrown down during the civil wars, and broken into two pieces. Mr. Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, a celebrated Welsh antiquary, saw it in this state in 1662, and took a copy, which Mr. Edward Lhuyd transcribed and sent, in 1692, to the learned Dr. Mill, the Principal of Edmund Hall, Oxford. Mr. Lhuyd also inserted the inscription in his *Welsh Itinerary*. It then consisted of thirty-one lines. In 1779 Mr. Lloyd of Trevor Hall erected the upper part of the column, containing sixteen lines of the inscription, on its ancient base, which he placed upon a ruder one of rough stones, and set it on the tumulus on which it now stands. The remaining part of the column has long since disappeared.

It is but right, just, and fair, that I should acknowledge the authority from which the foregoing facts have been elicited. It is that valuable work, Owen and Blake-way's *History of Shrewsbury*, published in 1825. An engraving of this Pillar appears in the *History of Shrewsbury*. Another, after a drawing by D. Parkes, is given in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1809, and a third appears in Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, published in 1810.

Pennant treats of it as follows: "It is said that the stone, when complete, was 12 feet high. It is now reduced to 6 feet 8. The remainder of the capital is 18 inches long. It stood infixed in a square pedestal still lying in the mount, the breadth of which is 5 feet 3 inches, the thickness 18 inches. Within these few years," says Pennant, "the tumulus was opened, and the reliques of certain bones found there, placed, as usual in those days, between some flat stones."

The whole of the inscription that can be made out from Mr. Vaughan's copy is as follows:

" Concenn filius Cattell, Catell
 filius Brohemail Brohmail filius
 Eliseg, Eliseg filius Gusllauc,
 Concenn itaque pronepos Eliseg
 edificavit hunc lapidem proavo
 suo Eliseg + Ipse est Eliseg qui recuperavit
 hereditatem Povosie post mortem
 Catelli per vim e potestate Anglo
 rum gladio suo parte in igne
 que restituerit manuscriptum
 benedictionem super
 Eliseg + Ipse est Concenn
 manu
 regnum suum Povosea
 quod

 mortem

 monarchiam
 Maximus Britanniae
 Pascen
 filius Guarthi
 qui bened. Germanus quē
 peperit ei S. eeira filia Maximi
 Regis qui occidit regem Romano
 rum + Conmarch pinxit hoc
 Chirografū rege suo poscente
 Concenn + Benedictio Dñi in Con
 cenn et ss' ī totā familiā ejus
 Et in totā regionē Povois
 usque in".....

In the inscription given in the first volume of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, a few variations in the reading occur. In the first line, "Catelli, Catelli"; in the sixth line, "neer" for "recuperavit"; in the seventh, "at" before "hereditatem"; "povos ipe..... mort" for "povosie post

mortem"; in the eighth line, "cautem per vissi... ep. o. t estate anglo", for "*Catelli* per vim e potestate Anglo"; in ninth line, ... "in gladio suo parta in igne"; in tenth line, ... "imque recituerit manesc p."; in the eleventh line, "mdet benedictionem sup"; in the thirteenth line, ... "tus.. c.. emeiunge .. manu"; in the fourteenth, ... "e ad regnum suum povos"; in the fifteenth, ... "bani quod"; in the sixteenth, ... "ois.... ueavesmec"; in the seventeenth, ... "ein montem"; in the nineteenth, ... "il e.... monarchiam"; in the twentieth, .. "ail maximus britannix"; in the twenty-first, .. "nn. pascen... mavi annan"; in the twenty-second, "britua t. m filius Guarthi"; in the twenty-third, ... "que bened que bened. Germanusque"; in the twenty-fourth, ... peperit ei sc.. ira filia maximi"; in the twenty-fifth, ... "gis qui occidit regi Romano." Such are the differences and filling up in parts, but both are said to have been taken from the transcript by E. Llwyd.

The inscription has been thus translated :—

"Concenn was the son of Cattell, Cattell
the son of Brohemail, Brohmail the son
of Eliseg, Eliseg the son of Gusillauc.
Concenn, therefore, the great grandson of Eliseg,
built this stone to his great grandfather
Eliseg + This is the Eliseg who recovered
his inheritance of Povosia after the death
of Cattell by force out of the power of the Angles
by his sword fire
..... restored the inscription
 blessing upon
 Eliseg + This is Concenn
.....
 his kingdom of Povosea
 which
.....
 death
.....
 the monarchy
..... Maximus of Britain
..... Pascentius
..... son of Guarthi,
 whom Germanus blessed, whom.....
..... bore to him Seeira, daughter of Maximus,
the king who slew the king of the Romans + Cenmarch engraved this
inscription, at the request of his king

Concenn + May the blessing of the Lord be upon Concenn and on his whole family
and on the whole region of Povis
for——”

Now, as to the age of this monument? This, I think, is a difficult matter for me at least to pronounce upon. It is a late, perhaps the latest, lapidary inscription of the kind we have. It may be of the eighth century, but how comes it to be so unlike in form the rude and unworked monoliths on which the other lapidary inscriptions are graven? I believe it to have been originally a Roman column from some Roman building, perhaps brought hither from Deva (Chester); perhaps from Uriconium (Wroxeter). It has the peculiar entasis or swelling of the columns of classic art. It is not represented so in the various engravings that appear of it, and I cannot find that any photograph has been taken of it. The inscription is now illegible, but if a cast was taken of it, it is possible some portion might be made out by artificial light and shade.

The above paper was prepared for, and intended to be read at, the Meeting of the British Archæological Association at Llangollen in 1877. Time, however, did not allow of more than a brief exposition of the Pillar of Eliseg on the spot.

SYMBOLISM IN EARLY AND MEDIÆVAL ART.

BY B. EDMUND FERREY, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read at the Wisbech Congress.)

THE title of the paper which I have the honour of reading before you will, I am quite aware, make some of my archæological friends think there are grave doubts as to symbolism in mediæval *architecture*. I thus start at some apparent disadvantage ; but a moment's consideration will, I hope, convince you that there is no difficulty in bringing forward overwhelming testimony of the *reality* of such symbolism ; and this, not from the evidence of yesterday, but from that of the earliest historic times. I chose it because my attention for several years has been somewhat directed thereto, and I have from time to time jotted down notes and reflections on the theme.

It is necessary to say a little on the earlier history of our subject. First, what do I mean by symbolism ? That question is easily answered. Symbolism is the outcome of one of the most natural faculties enshrined in the heart of man, by which he is disposed to speak in parables. What are Æsop's fables but a series of symbols ? Read the Old Testament, the prophetic books, the Book of Job, the Psalms, and notably the Song of Solomon, where some of the most beautiful images are contained. Symbolism in architecture is metaphor transformed into stone. Not that architects or archæologists need necessarily be poets ; I, for my part, certainly am not so, having not the remotest notion of making such claim. But at any rate all must admit that there is a connection between architectural symbolism and poetry. In the parables of our Saviour, in the language of the pulpit, in the debates of the legislature, in severe prose, in common parlance, this ingrained principle of our nature is evident everywhere, not only among Christian nations, but also in the heathen world, though in an imperfect way. Taking it, therefore, for granted that in the cradle of the human race symbolism was first fostered, and recollecting that out of the Mosaic dispensation the Redeemer formed the

Christian dispensation, I would note some of the early symbols in Jewish times, many of which survive, and are cherished by Christians at the present day.

Let us take a hasty glance through the Old Testament for that purpose, though Pagan examples could be adduced, such as the peacock, phoenix, the inverted torch, the broken column. Perhaps the first symbol recorded in Holy Writ is that of "The Bow in the Cloud". This was afterwards justly appropriated by the early Christian church, and carried on in its use up to mediæval times, our blessed Lord being frequently represented as seated on a rainbow. However, it is needless to multiply examples. They abound in the Old Testament, particularly, as I have before remarked, in the Song of Solomon, which is an allegory throughout. Some of its illustrations are often employed now, such as "I am the Rose of Sharon and the Lily of the Valley." "Until the Day break and the Shadows flee away." Then of course we have the symbols in the Vision of Ezekiel, which have always been supposed to have originated those of the four Evangelists.

I believe a great deal of injury to the true understanding of this subject has been caused by far-fetched and imaginary interpretations. For instance, it would need a considerable amount of credulity to believe all the theories of Durandus, and in our own times some enthusiasts have gone wild on the point.

The early Christians, as we know, adopted some of the heathen symbols, and, so to speak, improved on them. The phoenix, as symbolic of the Resurrection, which had been sometimes used by them, was supplanted by that of the peacock, though the latter bird had also denoted vainglory. The inverted torch, a thoroughly pagan emblem (which unhappily in later times, *i.e.*, in the eighteenth century, prevailed in England), was superseded by the lighted taper, of widely different signification. In their mode of burial in sarcophagi, in their stone altars (of very different proportions, however), we find the early Christians borrowing at first from the heathen. As the preacher in the Book of Ecclesiastes said: "There is nothing new under the Sun." I cannot see any particular symbolism in the basilican plan, as adopted by the early

Christians. They simply followed the arrangement of the basilican hall, or made use of the actual building for their worship. The triple division of the nave and two aisles was doubtless only adopted from motives of convenience of construction. But in the decoration of the Arch of Triumph leading into the apse, there is a good deal of symbolism. The Rev. St. John Tyrwhitt, in some able articles in the *Monthly Packet*, says the Arch of Triumph typified the passage from earth to Heaven. In the early basilican churches of Rome how frequently do we see in this situation the Agnus Dei in the centre, with six sheep on either side (representing the Apostles) turning towards Him in adoration, and later on, our Blessed Lord sitting in majesty, and still later, the coronation of the Blessed Virgin. I should rather regret to find the first-named subject re-introduced in modern times, though the second one is most appropriate, the third unsuited for the doctrine of the English Church. The Paschal candlestick placed on the gospel side of the altar during Eastertide is another very beautiful and appropriate emblem, and is frequently richly adorned with mosaic. It has been well said that the Paschal candle symbolises our spiritual joy at the Resurrection of the Lord. However, it is not my wish to weary you with an epitome of all the delightful objects in the early Christian churches. I only want to lead you gently on. But I cannot pass from this portion of the subject without alluding to the mosaics of Ravenna, the charms of which are such that (in the spirit of old Izaak Walton when speaking of the heavenly song of birds) a man may well go down on his knees and thank the Almighty that He has put it into the hearts of man to design such beautiful work. I would particularly note the long procession of white-robed saints with wreaths, and holy virgins, represented in the nave of San Apollinare Nuovo. It has struck me as somewhat singular, that in the early church the office of baptism seems to have been more emphasized than in later times, by there being a distinct and frequently large building used exclusively for the purpose (as at Ravenna and many other places in Italy dedicated to St. John the Baptist) and containing mosaics representing the Baptism of Christ. It has been suggested as one explanation, that in those

days barbarian chiefs, with their followers, were baptised in large numbers. The octagonal form, so common in fonts, is said to symbolize regeneration, but this appears a rather far-fetched derivation. The octagonal form would be a natural one to adopt, as more ornamental than a circle, though based on that plan, and as being easier to decorate, as none of the panels would be distorted, which must always occur on a curved plan.

I can scarcely gainsay the origin of the word "nave" (of a church). The veriest sceptic in symbolism cannot believe otherwise than that it is derived from *navis*, a ship, a most natural symbol of the church. But the case is different when it is attempted to prove that the triple arrangement of the mediæval nave, arcade, triforium, and clere-story (the latter space generally occupied by a frieze of mosaic in the early basilican churches) typified the doctrine of the Ever Blessed Trinity. I must candidly say that the origin appears to have been a more commonplace one, for there was necessarily a blank space between the top of the vaulting and the outer roof of the aisles. What more natural than either to have this decorated in a flat way, or to pierce it with arcaded and panelled work, so as to get some depth of shadow? The word narthex, which means "rod", I must concede to have been very probably derived from the alleged fountain-head, as the catechumens and neophytes admitted into the narthex were necessarily under the rod of the *ostiarus* or doorkeeper.

The very frequent adoption of the number three I do not doubt to be often symbolic of the Trinity, but to say that it *always* has this signification is, to my mind, absurd. In the sculptured foliage of the Middle Ages, we often find a trefoil leaf employed, owing to its being a beautiful form. But in the case of the number *seven*, the matter is far different. The Apocalypse gives the cue,—“And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God.” Again, too, there is the seven-branched candlestick, typifying the seven churches of Asia. The seven lamps always kept burning in churches of the Roman Communion of course symbolize this. Then there were the five consecration crosses on the stone *mensa* or altar-

slab, typical, no doubt, of the five wounds of Christ. The plan of the cross in churches is obviously derived from the Cross of Calvary, but it is curious that it was not till some time after the death of our Saviour that the form was adopted. It did not, of course, exist in the original basilican churches. The church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople is said to be the first example of a cruciform church. The beauty of the form must also have recommended it. But in Hewitt's description of Ely Cathedral is a too fanciful interpretation, as it humbly seems to me, of the plan, where he says:—"The ground-plan of churches, by so frequently assuming the shape of a cross, typifying the doctrine of the Atonement. The choir or chancel marking the position of the Saviour's head, the transepts His arms, and the nave His body. By an expansion of this idea the choir is made to bend southwards to show the inclination of the Redeemer's head upon the cross, while as it would seem the porch is turned in an opposite direction to indicate the position of his feet." I cannot but think this *expansion* of idea is quite untenable. Every architect knows that not uncommonly the axis of the choir diverges slightly from that of the nave. It is not often very apparent, except when the measurements for a ground plan are taken; then this irregularity is found out. In some of the abbey churches the divergence is very marked, as at Whitby Abbey. I should be very glad to have some really satisfactory explanation of this peculiarity. Perhaps some of my hearers may be able to throw light on the point. It has been said that the axis of the choir always points towards that portion of the horizon in which the sun rises on the day of the commemoration of the Saint to whom the church is dedicated. To establish this theory satisfactorily would involve a pilgrimage to a good many churches, and I must candidly say, till there is more conclusive evidence, I cannot believe it. I have been assured by a gentleman, who has tested about a dozen churches, that he has not found even one nearly accurate in this particular.

No doubt the attention of the members of this Association has been called, while at Ely, to the remarkable mediæval boss in the lantern in the cathedral representing

Christ in Glory. The attitude is said to be unique, as our Saviour is blessing with His right hand, and with the left drawing aside the drapery to exhibit the spear-wound in His side. But I would venture to ask, is *such* symbolism quite correct or worthy of imitation? I do not believe that in the earlier periods of the Church of Christ such an almost sensational representation of—mark me—our Lord in *Glory* will be found. At the present day the Church of Rome makes a mistake in the too human representations of our Saviour Crucified; whereas in the earlier crucifixes, such as that at St. Mark's, Venice, that is not the case. The suffering Saviour is made to look Godlike even in His Humanity. Alluding again to Mr. Tyrwhitt's articles in the *Monthly Packet*, and speaking of this same symbolism of the cross, I note that he comments on the eminently Christian use of the *fourfold*, i.e., cruciform Basilica, of the death of the body, and of the Church as the universal body of Christ. "With this, and in contrast to it, the central dome is employed as an emblem of the kingdom in Heaven, and of the final victory and state of the Church triumphant. For our examples descriptions are to be found in Lord Lindsay, who refers in most cases to Dr. Agrimant's plans and drawings." Mr. Tyrwhitt goes on to speak of the central dome or cupola to a cruciform church as soaring up and expanding as it were like the vault of Heaven. Such, he says, indeed was its meaning in connection with the cross. Now I honestly confess that though believing in the symbolism of the Greek or Latin cross in the plan of a church, I fail to see how the central dome was designed so as to be "an emblem of the kingdom in Heaven, and of the final victory and state of the church triumphant". It is easy and appropriate enough to say *now* that such emblems fit in nicely, but there is no evidence whatever to prove that the designers had any such idea in their heads. Far more probably the architect grasped his opportunity of making a grand feature in the centre of the building, when it came so naturally before him.

But I am afraid you will think my premises have been hostile ones, and that I am going to cry down symbolism and avow myself a sceptic on the subject. By no means.

I will bring forward no more instances of out-of-the-way symbolism, but must express my doubt as to the correctness of the popular tradition that the Escorial, of which we have heard so much lately, is built in the form of a gridiron to commemorate the manner of the death of St. Laurence. To return again to the cross, I can quite believe, with Mr. Pooley, that the mediæval *market crosses* were erected, and I hope actually served, as a reminder to those engaged in commerce, of "the great principles of Equity and Truth laid down by Him who died on the Cross". Would that there were a few more such silent reminders now-a-days in our own midst! The study of archæology and the past does not fully exercise its influence, if we do not take to heart some of its lessons and warnings, and in our daily labours feel that we have much to learn from those who have gone before us. Successive generations of archæologists ought to gather larger experience as the world grows older. The symbolism of the cross far more pervaded life in the middle ages than at the present day, for who would expect to see a wayside cross built such as, I dare say, many of us saw while we were at the pleasant Congress of our Association two years since in Cornwall. There is one at Coplestone near Crediton, Devon, between four cross ways; the sides richly ornamented with saltier-shaped crosses in interlaced work of great beauty. (This is more appropriate here than the same symbol forming the end of the stick to a lady's parasol; a purely modern fancy.) The calvaries, which are so usual in Brittany, are of course another example of the more realistic types of mediæval work. I would not say that we should put up such representations as the latter *now*. Then there are the churchyard crosses, scarcely one of which remains intact. The steps, or shaft and steps, are often seen, but not the cross itself, which, if present, is generally found to have been a restoration. I should like to mention one example of a churchyard cross, that at Kelston, Somerset, which has a remarkable symbolic representation, well described by Mr. Pooley. He says, that "from the resemblance of the design to the figure of a tree, it has been conjectured that it illustrates a rude attempt to portray the Tree of Life, but the presence of the fruit points rather to the

other tree in the garden, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. . . . Although in this instance the rigid form of the Christian symbol is not apparent, yet the accessories of the steps, forming a calvary and block for the socket, together with the flexible character of the branches, are not a little suggestive of the union of the crosses with the tree, particularly as we find it in some early examples; but the distinctive character of the cross is preserved in the calvary and steps while it is lost in the interlacing knot-work that forms the head." This seems to be a most interesting piece of symbolism. I presume none will dispute the fact that the floriated crosses on the summits of the gables to churches have a mystic meaning, being planted on the highest points of the earthly tabernacle, so as to be seen of all men; and, like the spire, to point heavenwards. There is the weathercock, too, braving the elements at the top of the spire, which may well represent the watchfulness of the Christian. To take another example—the old stone coffin lids are symbolical. They generally possess a floriated calvary cross, as well as a device to denote the occupation or trade of the deceased, sometimes a pair of scissors, an awl, and so on. Some years since I made sketches of a great number in the porch of Bakewell Church, Derbyshire, most of which were found embedded in the walls during the rebuilding works, and it was extraordinary to see the fertility and variety of design exhibited in them.

In the sacrificial vestment of the priest, the chasuble, the "yoke cross" is displayed, symbolical of the shape in which our Lord spread His arms on the cross. I entertain no doubt that this is its significance. There is a very beautiful idea in the painted glass of the east window of Westwood Church, near Bath, visited by the Somersetshire Archæological Society some two years since. It is of fifteenth century date. In the centre is represented our Saviour treated in the earlier way, *i.e.*, the cross is a tau cross, and the head of Christ is considerably below the cross-beam. The feet rest on a vase with lilies blossoming out of it, and these lilies rise up at each side of the cross, golden stars alternating (*Stella Maris*), as emblematic of the Blessed Virgin. As an antiquarian friend

well said to me on the occasion of our visit to Westwood Church—"There is here clearly a symbol showing the Atonement resting for its efficacy on the Incarnation." In modern crucifixes in foreign churches the cross is almost invariably, as far as my experience goes, of a plain Latin form, but in the exquisite Lindsay Psalter, of early thirteenth century work, belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, the cross on which the Saviour hangs (which is beautifully illuminated) is richly foliated. In gable crosses mediæval examples are usually floriated, the cross budding everywhere, as well expressed in the words of the fine Latin hymn :—

" Faithful cross above all others
 One and only noble tree ;
 None in foliage, none in blossom,
 None in fruit thy peer may be.
 Sweetest wood and sweetest iron,
 Sweetest weight is hung on thee."

The Via Dolorosa (truly so called), or Via Crucis, is another symbolic representation of the middle ages. I do not mean the *Stations* of the Cross, which are a comparatively modern idea, and have no scriptural authority, but I allude to the scenes previous to the Crucifixion recorded in the Gospels, such as were carried out, a few years since, in the churchyard of Frome, Somerset. In the district of the Fens towards Norfolk, the inhabitants are fortunate in having preserved to them so many mediæval rood screens and lofts, some with the paintings on them intact. It is needless to say that the situation of the rood is symbolic of one of the greatest truths in our religion, and I could not omit mentioning it in this paper. There is another most characteristic feature of the Norfolk churches—the hammerbeam roof, in which angels bearing shields with the emblems of the Passion, or holding instruments of music, are not unusual.

The more one thinks about it, the more numerous and conclusive, as it appears to my humble judgment, are the evidences of a considerable amount of symbolism in the architectural fabric of mediæval times. Symbolism could not have stopped at the accessories ; it must have engrafted itself in the fabric also. The colours of the altar frontals, five in number, are said to have been adaptations of those employed in the Jewish tabernacle,

and the superfrontal is generally crimson, as typifying the precious blood-shedding. That seems natural enough, but when it is asserted that the fair white linen cloth represents the winding sheet in which the body of the Lord was wrapped, I hesitate. But we do know that in mediæval times the pyx, in which the altar breads were sometimes reserved, was frequently shaped in the form of a dove, the symbolism of which is obvious. The shape of the mitre is a peculiar one, and I do not see that the theory, that it is so formed to represent the cloven tongues of fire which fell upon the Apostles, is an unlikely one. One of the grandest efforts of symbolism so minutely investigated and described in the late Mr. Cockerell's *Iconography*, exists in the west front of Wells Cathedral. Although some of Mr. Cockerell's individual conjectures are open to question, there can be no doubt his general principle is correct, and that we have a representation in stone of the *Te Deum*. The ceiling over the altar, and occasionally also that over the rood-loft, is sometimes in mediæval examples richly ornamented, while the remainder is plain, as at Ilfracombe. In fonts, as in the curious one at Youldgreave, Derbyshire, is sometimes represented the salamander, emblematic of fire, in allusion to the passage in St. Matthew, "He shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with fire."

Concerning bells as connected with the subject, in those used in churches, who disbelieves in the Sanctus Bell, which was often kept distinct from the others in the tower, or hung in a detached turret? Then, too, there was the Angelus Bell, rung daily, to enable the faithful to recite the Angelic Salutations in thankful remembrance of the Incarnation.

ON ROBERT BLAKE, COLONEL AND GENERAL AT SEA, 1657.

BY E. G. BENNETT, ESQ.

(Read at the Plymouth Congress, August 1883.)

No doubt the members of the Congress have been on the Hoe, of which we Plymouth men are not a little proud; and even if not, I ask them to stand there and look with me over those blue waters before them. No Breakwater is there with its welcome shelter, and no Batten Castle is to be seen; but, with sails unfurled, from Catwater on the left and from Cawsand Bay to seaward on the right, stand to sea the fleet of six hundred vessels, with Edward III and the Black Prince on board, bound for the famous fields of Crecy and Poitiers. Here, again, after each victory landed the army, the second time accompanied by John, King of France; and from Plymouth began that memorable cavalcade to London.

Passing over the Pilgrim Fathers, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, all of whom knew every headland of our bay and street of our town—and the windows of our Guildhall will remind you of them; and passing by, in modern times, the fleets under Howe for La Hague, which may be seen lying in Cawsand Bay prepared for the glorious 1st of June, or later still, under Nelson for the Nile and Trafalgar, I ask them to look out on a winter's afternoon. A fierce storm is raging, and a large transport ship lies on the rocks to the left close under, when a British sailor in evening dress, on his way to a dinner party, calls for volunteers to save the crew; but, when, appalled by the savage storm, all shrank back, he bound the rope round his own body, and exclaiming, "Will no one go? Then I'll do it myself," Sir Edward Pellew, afterwards Lord Exmouth, plunged into the breakers and saved that whole ship's company and her crew, part of the 2nd Regiment.

Of all the scenes, however, witnessed from the Hoe, none equals in pathos that of the year 1657. All England had, for five years, been following the matchless

bravery, audacity, and success of Colonel Robert Blake, General at Sea, following the title of Sir Francis Drake, who was in 1586 styled General of the Navy; 1652 and 1653 had beheld the struggle in the Channel with the Dutch, the broom at Van Tromp's masthead had been avenged, and the States-General of Holland had heard from the mouth of the brave De Witt that the "English are masters of us and the seas"; in 1655, fortifications on shore had for the first time been silenced by British ships,—the Bey of Tunis had surrendered his Christian captives; in 1656, bullion taken had been rolled in thirty-eight waggons from Portsmouth to London; and in 1657 came the news of the crowning victory of Santa Cruz over the entire Spanish Fleet. England was in raptures, and eager to do honour to the modest sailor who had led her navy from disgrace to victory; who had inspired the crew, from captain to cabin-boy, with the idea, which has been an axiom ever since, that it was not to be their chiefest aim to bring their ships safe home to harbour, but through any difficulty or danger to carry the flag under which they served always with honour, and as often as possible with success.

Plymouth was not behindhand. Well was Blake's thick set figure of middle height and lame walk known in her streets, and no one, friend or foe, dared to gainsay him when in honest anger he twisted his black mustachios; but he, whose red-cross St. George's flag was the terror of England's enemies, was never again to set foot on English soil; he, who had five times received the thanks of the British Parliament, upon whom had been bestowed the gold chain of the value of £300, and finally the jewel, a diamond ring of the value of £500, "as a mark of honour and a testimony of the Parliament's resentment of his eminent and faithful services for the Commonwealth," was never again to see his loved home at Knowl near Bridgewater. Strange was the contrast on land and at sea on the morning of that 17th of August 1657; on shore, every point of vantage was seized by an eager, joyous, and expectant throng, each only intent upon giving a heartier cheer and louder welcome than his fellow to their favourite; on shipboard, fast glazing eye and weak frame showed but too clearly to his captains

gathered round that the last wish of their loved leader, to die on English soil, would not be granted. The victorious squadron rounded the Rame, the *St. George*, the flagship, leading; the whole of Plymouth witnessed it come in sight off Penlee Point, but before anchor was cast in Plymouth Bay, the flag dropped to half mast, and all knew that England's mighty sailor, one of the greatest sailors she has ever produced, had passed away. Wounds, anxiety, sickness, dropsy, and scurvy had done their work but too effectually, and all that was left to Plymouth sorrowing was to place part of his honoured remains in the parish church of St. Andrew, 'neath the door of the Mayor's pew; to grateful England to lay his bones in the Abbey at Westminster "amongst the kings", and to his countrymen to admire his courage, his conscientious discharge of duty, his contempt of riches, to cherish his memory, and to copy his example.

INSCRIPTIONS ON ROMAN TILES FOUND AT LEADENHALL.

BY THOS. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

(Read April 5, 1882.)

THE inscription on the tiles here produced has been frequently found on tiles in London, and in several instances on tiles found among the ruins of that large Roman building lately unburied on the site of the old Leadenhall in the City of London, of which Mr. Brock has furnished us with reports from time to time. Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., in his *Illustrations of Roman London*, has given similar inscriptions, as on the tile figured at p. 116, PPBRLON, on which also is stamped a segment of a circle, as on the tile put before us this evening. Another, found at Blomfield Street, Finsbury, has PBKLON; and another at Lambeth Hill, PRBLON. The learned author here quoted inclines to the opinion that the stamp is of a cohort of Britons, and he refers to several of these in the Roman army, as the *first* cohort of Britons which had the honour of Roman citizenship; the *sixth*, which served under Trajan in the Dacian wars; and the *fourth*, surnamed *Antoniniana*, mentioned in an inscription found in Northumberland, and figured in Horsley, plate 26. According to this interpretation, PPBR would stand for "Præfectus Primæ [*Cohortis*] Brittonum Londinî." The word LON for *Londinii* is found only, I believe, on these tiles, and is inscribed on no other known relic of antiquity except coins, and these not of the earlier emperors, who had mints at Verolamium and Camulodunum, but not in London. This fact in itself gives a peculiar interest to the inscription.

Without founding an objection to Mr. Roach Smith's interpretation of it, I would, with due deference, suggest another for the first letters, different from those which have been given; and if this should prove correct, it may lead to further investigations. I have myself only seen four of these tiles so marked; that is, the two on the

table, and two which are preserved in the Guildhall Museum. The inscription is reversed on all four; that is, must be read from right to left; and making allowance for the roughness both of the stamp and of the material, I think there is not much difficulty in attributing them all to the same stamp, or at least in reading the letters as the same on each. The first inscription before referred to, from Mr. Roach Smith's book, seems also to be the same; and there is so much similarity in the other two he names, that a slight difference or omission of a stroke in the reading might make them all identical. However this may be, I will copy the four I have seen, as follows.

On the Table.

No. 1. NOLRBPP

No. 2. NOLRBPP

In Guildhall Museum.

No. 3. NOLRBPP

No. 4. NOLRBPP

(Reversed.)

As to the first two letters, P P, on various inscriptions, they are taken to stand for *Pater Patriæ*, or *Pater Patratus*, or *Patrono Posuit*, or *Pecunia Publica*, or *Perpetuus Populus*, or *Posuit Præfectus*, or *Prætorio Præpositus*, or *Propria Pecunia*, or *Pro-Prætor*, and others; but none of these seems applicable to the tiles. A *Pro-Prætor* would hardly have his name inscribed on a tile, and it is even less likely that he would use the title of office without his own name. I should prefer to consider the duplicated P to stand for the plural number according to the usual form, and I would suggest the interpretation. *Præfecturæ Britannicæ, Londinî*. If such be the case, two important considerations arise out of the words. First. Do they apply to London as one of the *Præfecturæ*? Or, secondly, does *Præfecturæ* simply indicate the building and its public offices in London, that is, the *Regium* or *Basilica*, in which the business of the *Præfectus Urbi* was carried on? The better to understand the force of the word, I will recall to your memory the four classes of cities or towns which were denominated as follows in the earlier Roman times. 1. *Municipia*. 2. *Coloniæ*. 3. *Præfecturæ*. 4. *Fora* or *Conciliabula*.

These names, distinctly marked in the earlier times, came to be very much confounded in the later, and

gradually merged into the Roman *Civitas*. Out of the 300 or 400 *pagi* which Cæsar found in Gaul, Augustus formed sixty-four counties, *Civitates*, each with a capital of its own, and into these the Roman system was introduced. Our London is termed *Oppidum* by Eumenius (*Panegy. Constantio*, cap. xvii), which argues perhaps its native origin. It is honoured by Ammianus Marcellinus with the epithet "Augustan", but was still known as the Augusta of the Trinobantes.

The *municipia* elected their own magistrates, and were governed by their own laws, forming a kind of independent republic. The *Coloniæ* elected their own magistrates, but were governed by Roman law. The *Præfecturæ* did not elect their own magistrates, but were governed by a high officer appointed annually, as regards Italy, by the *Præfectus Urbi* in Rome, and the appointment in the provinces lay with the Roman provincial governors. The *Præfectus* had great powers under the emperors, regulating the law-courts, the markets, and the police of the towns over which they presided. Hence the Prefect of London, of which the word *Reeve* is probably a corruption, gives us the first idea of a lord mayor, whose appointment for one year, with civil as well as judicial functions, is not very dissimilar from the Roman.

Festus says "præfecturas vocatas in quibus et jus dicebatur et nundinæ agebantur et erat quædam earum respublica, neque tamen magistratus suos habebant et in quas legibus præfecti mittebantur quotannis, qui jus dicerent."

The prefect was V. C., *vir clarissimus*, as the following inscription found at Gaeta declares (*Reinesii Synt. Ant.*, cl. I, xciii).

VENERI PELAG

P - LVCILIVS - RVSTICVS - V - C -

PRAEFECTVS VRBI.

This Pelagian Venus was that famous "Anadyomene" painted by Apelles (*Plin. Hist. Nat.*, xxxv, c. 10).

Epigraphy is now forming the true science of history, and whether this inscription proves London to have been a Roman *Præfectura*, or marks the spot where the business of the prefect was carried on, in either case important facts are confirmed in our municipal pedigree.

Mr. John E. Price, F.S.A., in his *Roman Antiquities discovered near the Mansion House, London*, says, "The most ancient of the City wards, which are few in number, should indicate the oldest portion of the City; this is found practically to be the case." He has in the same work shown a continuity in the municipal government from the time of the Romans, and finds an analogy between some of the public functionaries. As to the divisions of the land belonging to the cities, towns, and castles, the article by Henry Chas. Coote, F.S.A., on the *Centuriation* of Roman Britain (in the *Archæologia*, vol. xlii), should be studied by all those who would understand the subject of the Roman occupation.

Taking now the second case I have suggested, that is, that the word *Præfecturæ* applies only to the buildings known by that name, it almost argues the existence of the office of *Præfectus Urbi*, one of ancient date, which, after falling into desuetude, was revived in Rome under Augustus by the advice of Mæcenæ, and gradually under the emperors was invested with increasing powers, and given to men who had served the highest offices in the state. The *Præfectus Urbi* in London would therefore be probably selected out of the first order of public men, and his edicts at the opening of the year indicated the laws and principles upon which he intended to govern during his year of office. Inscriptions have lately been found, which prove that such an office existed as *Adjutor Procuratorum*, that is, an assistant to the Procurators who had the management of the public finances. We have evidence, too, that in Rome existed a naval brigade, whose business, from their stations at Puteoli and at Ostia, was to assist in putting out fires. We may suppose similar precautions would be adopted in the great Roman towns in Britain, and that an effectual fire-brigade would be stationed in London, where, from the evidence of remains, fires were not uncommon.

The subject of the *Milites Stationarii* forming the constabulary force in the towns, opened up by Mr. Coote in the above treatise, has been amplified by Mr. Milman, Director of the Society of Antiquaries, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xlv, and it seems probable that the armoury, or public store of arms, would be kept in some

very secure place, and probably in the buildings of the Prefecture. Mr. C. Roach Smith, in his *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, describes on page 49 a subterranean building within the walls of Richborough, constructed for some extraordinary and important purpose, and says "it may not be unreasonable to suppose that a place of such strength and security may have served as an arsenal for arms and other military equipments." The palace and the armoury are mentioned together in an inscription figured in Horsley's *Durham*, No. xii, on a slab found at Lanchester.

PRINCIPIA ET ARMAMEN
TARIA CONLAPSA RESTITVIT.

I have thrown out these suggestions, on a subject of singular interest, at this time when Mr. Brock has been making careful examination of the site of the mediæval Leaden Hall, and of the Roman buildings at a lower level, where lines of walling have been traced, and numerous paved floors, tiles, tessellæ, and other Roman remains found, of which some fine specimens may be seen in the Guildhall Museum. As to the circular stamp on some of the tiles, it has been suggested that a column might have been erected upon it. I think this improbable, as the tile would then be baked and hard. It is more likely the impress of some circular clay vessel placed upon the tile at the pottery before baking.

ON A LIBRARY OF CHAINED BOOKS AT CHIRBURY.

BY W. WILDING, ESQ.

(*Read June 6, 1883.*)

WE purpose to give a short account of a library now in the school-house of the parish of Chirbury, Shropshire, consisting of books which bear dates on their title-pages, ranging from 1530 to about 1684, with a few words as to the man who is believed to be the founder of it. The books are 207 in number, and not only do they bear evident marks of having been "chained" (*i.e.*, fastened by means of an iron chain attached to the upper and outer corner of the binding of each book), but some of such chains are found with them.

We propose, first, to mention a few of the more curious and interesting of the books, and to call attention to the names and notes in manuscript which some of them contain, and which may possibly give a clue to their former owners ; then to state what is known of the existence of a chained library within a short distance of Chirbury ; and this more especially with a view to consider whether these books, or any of them, formed part of such library ; then to describe the chains ; and lastly, to say a few words as to the man (once vicar of the parish) who is believed to have founded the Chirbury Library.

I. First, as to the books. They are for the most part theological, but some are of a secular character. The following are before the meeting :

1. A black-letter folio copy of Chaucer, "printed by Adam Islip at the charges of Thomas Wight. Anno 1598." It has two prefaces : one addressed to the readers, and the other, by Francis Beaumont, "to his friend T. S.", with a poetical dialogue between the author and the reader. It is dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil. Then follow the poet's life, "The Canterbury Tales", "The Romaunt of the Rose", the prose translation of "Boëthius de Consolatione", "The Bookes of Troilus", "Certaine

Ballades"; and it ends with (what is to very many the most useful part of the book) "the hard words of Chaucer explained." It bears evidence not only of the chains which secured it, but a name, "Ed. Herbert", in manuscript (possibly the autograph of its former owner), and numerous manuscript marginal notes, evidently those of a reader who appreciated his author.

2. The next worth notice is a folio copy of Bishop Jewel's "Defense of his Apology". The title-page runs thus: "A Defense of the Apologie of the Church of England, by John Jewel, Bishop of Salisburie. Imprinted at London, in the Fleete Street, at the sign of the Elephant, by Henry VVykes, anno 1570, 16 Junii, cum gratiâ", etc. The title-page bears the name, in manuscript, but nearly erased, "George Herbert."

3. Another curious book is a volume of Lent sermons by a Spanish monk. It is without date, but dedicated thus: "To the two noble Knights, John Strangeways and Lewis Dive, in acknowledgment of his own true love and respect, Don Diego Prede dedicateth these his Indeaoures."

4. A book that bears not only names, but numerous manuscript notes, is an edition of Pliny's Natural History, of 1532. The names are, "Thos. Corbett. Libris Ed. Lewis." It is of this Edward Lewis of whom we shall have occasion to speak as the founder of the Library.

5. We then have a copy of Usher's Annals, "*Annales Veteris Testamenti a primâ mundi origine deducti*" (1650), with the name and a date in manuscript, "Henry Herbert, 1657, April y^e 28"; and again, "Ex libris Hen. Herbert."

6. Among the theological, or quasi-theological, books, is one containing a series of sermons preached—some before the Lords, and some before the Commons—by Dr. Samuel Torshell and others.

There are several other volumes of sermons, preached before one or other of the Houses of Parliament. The only other book we would mention is a copy of Plutarch's *Lives*, in parallel Latin and Greek columns. A catalogue of all the books is before the meeting.

II. We will now speak of the chained library which is known to have existed at Montgomery Castle (from

which Chirbury is three miles distant), and of a record of its having been placed there by a member of the family of Herbert; and of that family, he who is best known, both by his character and writings, George Herbert, the poet and divine. In doing so, however, we may have occasion to question the entire accuracy of his biographer, Isaac Walton, when he speaks of the library in Montgomery Castle as having been "burnt by the late Rebels and so lost to posterity".

In almost the last paragraph of Walton's *Life of Herbert*, after mentioning the marriage of Herbert's widow to Sir Robert Cooke of Highnam, he concludes: "This Lady Cooke had preserved many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, but they and Highnam House were burnt together by the late Rebels, and so lost to posterity; and by them was also burnt or destroyed a choice library which Mr. Herbert had fastened with chains in a fit room in Montgomery Castle, being by him dedicated to the succeeding Herberts, who should become the owners of it."

It may not appear generous to doubt the entire accuracy of a statement such as this, made by one whose admiration of the character and works of George Herbert would, it may be thought, lead him to more than ordinary care when speaking of an incident such as this, although it involves mention of those towards whom he entertained very different feelings. But to say the least, it is a singular fact that a collection of books, which had once been secured by chains, still exists within a short distance of the ruins of the building in which there is a distinct record that such a library was placed by George Herbert; and that one of them, *Jewel's Defense*, is the work of his own bishop (Bemerton, as we know, being but a short distance from and in the diocese of Salisbury). The date on this title-page is 1570 (Herbert was born in 1593, and died in 1632); but it is probable that the half-erased MS. name on the title-page is not his, but that of his uncle George Herbert, of New Coll., Oxford.

We have previously mentioned that the Chaucer bears in MS. the name of its former owner, "Liber Ed. Herbert"; but it is questionable whether this "Edward Herbert" is Lord Herbert of Chirbury, the poet's eldest

brother; and it is suggested that it is more probable that the signature is that of his cousin, Sir Edward Herbert, sometime attorney-general, and afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal,¹ to whom the book may have belonged.

Some of the books bear the name, in MS., of Henry Herbert. The only one of the name about that time was a younger brother of Lord Herbert of Chirbury, and of George Herbert—of whom Lord H. thus speaks in his autobiography:—"Henry, after he had been brought up in learning, was sent by his friends to France, where he attained the language of that country in much perfection; after which he came to court, and was made Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber and Master of the Revels."

The doubt as to the MS. names of George and Edward Herbert being those of the poet and of his elder brother respectively, does not lessen the probability that the books which we have attempted to describe were some of those which Walton says George Herbert placed in Montgomery Castle, although we doubt whether they were, as he says, "destroyed by the late Rebels."

We will now say a word as to the chains by which the books were secured, two of which are before this meeting. Each chain seems to have consisted of a series of about sixteen iron links, each about two inches long, one end of the chain being attached by an oval link to the book, and the other by a round link to a horizontal bar of iron, which was placed across the cabinet (if so it may be called) in which the books were placed. About the middle of each chain is a swivel, obviously to enable the reader to turn and otherwise handle the book.

Many members of the Association will doubtless know of other and similar chained libraries; but we will only mention one, and that in the same diocese as Chirbury, viz., in the cathedral of Hereford, the chains being similar to those at Chirbury.

III. We conclude with a short notice of the Rev. Edward Lewis, Vicar of Chirbury, and by whom this library was placed there. He was inducted into the vicarage in 1629, the year in which the earliest existing register of the parish commences, and was buried there on the 31st

¹ Clarendon, iii, 688.

October 1677, thus holding the living for forty-eight years, during one of the most trying periods of the Church's history. He seems to have been a man of exemplary charity and piety, but his pronounced Puritan opinions exposed him to persecution from his Royalist neighbours. In those days Captain Pelham Corbet held Caurse and Lee Castles in the name of the king, and hearing that Mr. Edward Lewis, vicar of the parish of Chirbury, a very godly man, did preach twice a day, he sent a party of horse out of his garrison and commanded them to Chirbury, who chose a time when the people were at church on the Lord's Day, October 11th, and placed some of the horse for guards about the churchyard, for fear of Montgomery Castle and garrison, about two miles off; and the people rid into the church, to the great fright and amazement of the people, men, women and children, and with their pistols charged and cocked went up into the pulpit, and pulled down Mr. Lewis, pulling and tugging him in a most unworthy manner. They also went to Mr. John Newton of Heightley, a justice of the peace, his pew, pulled out him and his eldest son, and some other godly people, which they carried away prisoners to Corbet, their governor; and so left the people without their pastor, because they would not be content with one sermon a day; *now* to be without any at all. [This from Nathaniel Wallington's of St. Leonards, Eastcheap, "Notices of Events in the Reign of Charles I," quoted in the *Sheriffs of Shropshire*.]

How long Mr. Lewis was detained prisoner by Captain Corbet we do not know, but his sufferings did not quench his charity, for we find that by deed bearing date the 14th of April, 27 Charles II (1675), he founded a free school for the children of Chirbury and Forden, and conveyed certain lands to trustees for its support. The school house he built on the churchyard, which was very extensive, being the burial ground attached to the old monastery, the monks of which had retained the rights of burial from the adjoining parishes of Forden, Montgomery, and Churchstoke.

Probably no one much cared about trespass on the churchyard, or interfered to prevent the rights of the parishioners being invaded; at any rate the school house

was built, and a right of way to it in course of being established, before anyone awoke to the fact that a serious trespass had been committed. The Rev. John Harding preferred a suit, at the instance of the Mayor and School of Shrewsbury, for waste committed on the churchyard, against the Rev. John Farmer, the school-master. This suit was met by a curious compromise, at the mediation of Henry, Lord Herbert of Chirbury, a memorandum of which is preserved at Powis Castle.

Puritan as he was, the fast days of the Church seem to have been duly observed under the rule of Mr. Lewis, and indulgence duly granted for good and sufficient cause, as will appear from an interesting extract with which we conclude our notice of his life.

"4 Julii, 1641. Leave granted to Mr. Peter Middleton to eate flesh, forasmuch as it doth manifestly appear that the gentleman is visited with a dangerous sickness and of long continuance.....due nourishment without eating of flesh, which by authority is.....Vicar of Chirbury doe by virtue of a statute made 5 Elizabeth grant unto the said Peter Middleton to eate flesh during the time of.....the condicion of the aforesaid statute mentioned. In witness whereof.....presente.

"EDWD. LEWIS, Vicar."

(We are indebted to the Rev. John Burd, the present Vicar of Chirbury, for the notice of Mr. Lewis, the founder both of the library and of the school.)

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY AT CHIRBURY SCHOOL.

TAKEN FEB. 10, 1859.

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|--|---|
| Augustine's Works, v. 1 (1569), 4 (1569),
6 (1569), 10 (1569) | Andrew Hyperius on St. Paul's Epistles,
1 v. T. W. |
| Annotations on New Test., 1 v. (imperfect) | Andrews' Pattern, 1 v. |
| Assersol on Philemon, 1 v. | —— Sermons, 1 v., 1629 |
| —— on Numbers, 1 v. | Acts of Synod of Dort, 1 v. |
| Aresius' Problems, 1 v., 1583 | Ainsworth's Annotations on Genesis, 1 v.,
1616 |
| —— on Four Gospels, 1 v., 1580 | —— on New Test. |
| —— on the Epistles, 1 v., 1596 | Arminius' Works, 1629 |
| Adams on 1st and 2nd Peter, 1 v., 1633 | Arrowsmith's Sermons, 1643 |
| —— on 2nd Peter, 1 v., 1633 | Annotations on Old Test. (imperfect) |
| —— Works, 1 v., 1630 | |

- Beza's Works, 1 v., 1576
 ——— 1 v., 1582
 Beza on New Test., 1 v., 1582
 Bellarmine, 3rd v.
 ——— Disputations, 1 v., 1608
 Barlom on 2nd Timothy, 1st and 2nd Chapters, 1 v., 1632
 Bayne on Ephesians, 1 v., 1645
 Byfield on 1st Peter, 1 v., 1623
 Burroughs on Hosea, 1 v.
 ——— on Moses' Choice, 1 v., 1641
 Bernard on the Psalms, 1 v. (Bernard Guateri)
 Burgess' Sermons, 1 v., 1641
 ——— on 17th Psalm (missing)
 Babington on Numbers and Deuteronomy, 1 v., 1615
 Boys' (Dean) Works, 1 v., no date. In MS. 1631
 Burgess' Sermons, 1 v. (title-page torn, date gone)
 Bernard's Works, 1 v., 1566
 Browning's Sermons (published by Martyn)
 Calvin's Institutes, 1 v., 1568
 ——— duplicate of ditto, 1 v., 1658, "Ex Libris Jacobi Peace, Wentworth"
 ——— on the Twelve Minor Prophets, 1 v., 1567
 ——— on Psalms, 1 v., 1564
 ——— on Romans, 1 v. T. W.
 ——— on Pentateuch, 1 v., 1563
 ——— on Jeremiah, 1 v., 1563
 Chrysostom, v. 2, 3, 4, 5, 1558
 Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants, 1 v., 1638
 Cœsius on Mineralogy, 1 v., 1636
 Cowper's (Bp.) Works, 1 v. (late Bishop of Galloway), 1629
 Chaucer, 1 v., 1598
 Cameron's Myrothecium, 1 v.
 Caudrey's Sermons, 1 v., 1643
 Censure of Confession of Remonstrance, by Leyden Professors, 1 v., 1626
 Chumradus Pellicanus, Index Bibliorum, 1 v., 1537
 Chrysostom's Indices
 Downam's Christian Warfare, 1 v. T. W.
 ——— Antichrist, 1 v., 1620. "Liber Ed. Lewis."
 Dictionarium Historium et Poeticum, 1 v., 1581
 Dedacus (Stella) on Luke, 1 v., 1612
 Daynal's History of England, 1 v. (title-page wanting)
 Davanant on Colossians, 1 v., 1627
 Estins on the Epistles, 1 v., 1640
 Ezekiel, by W. G., 1 v.
 Erasmus on the New Test., 1 v., no date
 ——— Paraphrase, 1 v. T. W.
 Elton on Romans, 1 v., 1622
 ——— on 7th Colossians, 1 v., 1620
 Emmanuel on Bible, 1 v., 1601
 Fitzherbert, Office of Justice (title wanting)
 Fox on the Revelation, 1 v., 1587
 Fuller's Rheims Testament of Reputation, 1 v., 1601
 Featley and Day's Funeral Sermons, 1 v., 1640
 Farendon's Sermons, 1 v., 1647
 Field's Church, 1 v., 1606
 Greesham on various subjects (missing)
 Gough's Concordance, 1 v.
 ——— on Hebrews, 1 v. T. W.
 ——— 1 v., 1655
 Gerard's Harmonica Evangelica, 1 v., 1628.
 "Liber Ed. Lewis"
 Greenhill's Ezekiel of Exposition, vi, vii, viii, ix
 Gurnal's Christian Armour, 1 v., 1653
 Guicardine, 1 v.
 Gatacre's Sermons, 1 v., 1637
 Gassendie's Works, 1 v.
 ——— Ethics on Plutarch, 1 v.
 Gandin's and others' Sermons, 1 v., preached before the House of Commons
 Gills' Sacred Philosophy, 1 v., 1635
 Greenham's Counsel, 1 v.
 Huron's Sermons, 1 v.
 Hilderson on 51st Psalm, 1 v., 1635
 Hall's (Bp.) Works, 1 v., 1628
 Harris' Way to Happiness, 1 v., 1632
 Hederic's Lexicon, 1 v., 1739, in MS. "In Libris Samuelis Hendri."
 Hardy on 1st Epistle of John, 1 v., 1656
 Heylyn's Theology, 1 v., 1654
 Holdershaw's Lectures on St. John 4th, 1629
 Jeronym Inquisitor on Pentateuch, 1 v., 1589
 John de Peneda on Job, 1 v., no date. T. W.
 ——— duplicate of ditto, 1 v., 1605
 Jermen on Proverbs, 1 v. T. W.
 Junius and Tremellius on Old Test., 1 v., 1596
 Jewell's (Bp.) Defence of Apology, 1 v., 1570
 Lallol and Fisher, 1 v., Relation of Conference (title-page wanting)
 Lightfoot's Sermons, 1 v., 1645
 Lake's (Bp.) Sermons, 1 v., 1629
 Levasi (Jesuit) on Acts, 1 v., no date
 Lent Sermons by a Spanish Monk, 1 v.
 Maxmin's Concordantia Vulgate, 1 v. T. W.
 Merandulus Works, 1 v., no date
 Maldonati Commentarium, 1 v. T. W.
 Martyr (Peter) on Judges, 1 v.
 ——— Romans, 1 v., 1568
 Mivior's Lives of Roman Emperors, 1 v., 1623. In MS. William Morgan Ed. Higgins
 Martyr on 1st Corinthians, 1 v., 1551, 4to.
 Martyn's Sermons, 1 v.
 Mellor on Isaiah, 1 v.
 ——— on Psalms, 1 v.
 Musculus on Genesis, 1 v., 1554
 ——— on St. Matthew, 1 v., 1556

- Musculus on the Psalms, 1 v., no date
 — on St. John, 1 v, 1580
 — on Romans (no date on title-page).
 In MS., 1562, February 26th
 Mayer on New Test., 1 v., 1631. In MS.,
 on fp., 1657. "Ex Libris Hen. Herbert"
 Marshall's Sermons, 1 v.
 Manton on St. James, 1 v.
 Martoratus' Exposition, 1 v., 1561
 — 1 v., no date
 Nicholson on the Creed, 1 v., 1661
 Otes on St. Jude, 1 v.
 Polyanthia Nova, 1 v. (imperfect). T.W.
 Plutarch's Morals
 — Lives. Greek and Latin parallel
 pages, 1624
 Perkins' Works, v. 2, 1617
 — (T. W. ?) 1612
 — on Tradition. T. W.
 Parens on Genesis
 — on Matthew
 — on Revelation
 — on Hosea
 Purchas' Pilgrims, v. 1, 1625
 — v. 2, 1625
 — v. 3, 1625
 Presson's Saint's Qualification, 1633
 — New Covenant, 1634
 Phillips on first four chapters of St.
 Matthew, 1607
 Pemble's Vindiciæ, 1629
 Pliny's Natural History, 1582. In MS.,
 Tho. Corbett, 1624
 Primanday's French Academy, no date.
 T. W.
 Parebola. Oxford Statutes, Oct. 1740
 Rogers' Naaman
 — Sermons, 1644
 Royard's Homilies
 Revetus on Genesis
 — on Hosea
 Reynolds' Three Treatises
 Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum
 Smith on the Creed
 — on Leviticus. T. W.
 Sympson on 2nd Peter, 1632
 Stillingleet's Origines Sacræ, 1663
 Stock and Torshall on Malachi
 Septuagint (imperfect)
 Saunderson's Sermons, 1656
 Szegedonis Loci Communes
 Saint's Cordial. Sermons by many authors,
 1629
 Stephens' (Henry) Concordance, 1600
 Summary of Axioms Ecclesiastical. T. W.
 Shute's Sermons on 16th Genesis, 1649
 Spanheim Dubia Evangelica
 Seaman's Sermons, 1647
 Torshall's and others' Sermons
 Tiviss' Vindiciæ, Amsterdam, 1632
 Taylor's (Bp. Jeremy) Ductor Dubitan-
 tium, 1660
 Usher's Annals, 1650. In MS., No. 1657,
 "Ex Libris Hen. Herbert"; also on
 previous page, "Hen. Herbert, 1657,
 April ye 20"
 Wilson on Romans
 Walton on Isaiah, 1533
 — on Galatians, 1576
 — on St. Luke, 1588
 — on Romans, 1590
 Willey's Synopsis of Popery, 1614
 Willet on Romans, 1620
 — on 1st Samuel, 1624. In MS.,
 "Edw. Froyssell"
 — on Genesis, 1632. In MS., "Nil
 rectum qd. non a deo directum", Johs.
 Ailmer (below), 1633; Hen. Herbert,
 1677
 — on Genesis, 1605
 — on Exodus, 1608
 — on Leviticus, 1631. In MS. on
 fp., 1657, "Ex Libris Hen. Herbert"
 — on Daniel
 Williams' True Church, 1629
 — (Bp.) Antichrist Revealed, 1661
 Walker's Homilies, 1670
 Weemse on Ceremonial Law
 — Exercitationes, 1632
 Walter on Acts, 1569
 — on the twelve Minor Prophets,
 1566
 Whitacre on the Sacraments, 1624
 Ward on Matthew, 1640
 Wolfe on Esdras, 1684
 Whitaker's Sermons, 1646, 4to.
 Young's Latin Dictionary, 1774
 Zanchius' Tracts, 1603
 — on Ephesians, 1600
 — Attributes, 1598
 — Creation, 1602
 — on the Trinity, 1573
 — Miscellanies

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1883.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Associates were duly elected :

R. Dickeson, Esq., Esplanade, Dover
 E. Viney Brown, Esq., Bench Street, Dover
 Edward Mannering, Esq., Buckland, Dover
 Mrs. Edwards, Sawtrey House, College Park, Lewisham
 Charles Lambert, Esq., 12 Coventry Street, W.
 Miss Francesca Lambert, 12 Coventry Street, W.
 H. Mulliner, Esq., Leamington
 Wm. Winckley, Esq., F.S.A., Harrow-on-the-Hill
 Henry Probyn, Esq.
 B. Winston, Esq., Epping
 E. W. Fry, Esq., St. Martin's House, Dover
 Josiah Pierce, Esq., 12 Beaufort Gardens, S.W.
 J. Valentin, Esq., Lambeth Distillery
 W. R. Davis, Overthorpe House, Wallingford.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society of Antiquaries, for "Archæologia", vol. xlvii, Part 2 ;
 "Proceedings," 2nd Ser., vol. ix, No. II ; and "List of the
 Society," June 1883.

To the Society, for "Transactions of the Royal Institute of British
 Architects," 1882-83.

" " for "Sussex Archæological Collections," vol. xxxiii.
 " " for "Smithsonian Report," 1881.
 " " for "Miscellaneous Collections," vols. xxii-xxvii.
 " " for "Archæological Journal", vol. xl, Nos. 158, 159, 1883.
 " " for "Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Archi-
 tects," 1882-83, Nos. 17, 18 ; "List of Members," 1883-84, Nos.
 1, 2, 1883-84.

- To the Society*, for "The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland," vol. vi, Fourth Series, No. 54, 1883.
- „ „ for "Proceedings of the Canadian Institute," vol. i, No. 4, 1883.
- „ „ for "Archæologia Cambrensis," Fourth Series, Nos. 53, 54, 55, 1883; and "The Land of Morgan," by G. T. Clark, F.S.A., a supplemental volume of the Cambrian Archæological Association.
- „ „ for "Journal of the Society of Arts," twenty-three Parts.
- „ „ for "Journal of the East India Association," vol. xv, Nos. 2-5, 1883.
- „ „ for "Transactions of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society," New Series, vol. viii, 1883.
- „ „ for "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society," 1882-83, vol. vii, Part I; and "Notes on the Wills in the Great Orphan Book at Bristol," by Rev. T. P. Wadley, M.A. No. 2.
- „ „ for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire." October, November 1883. Vol. xvi, Parts II, III.
- „ „ for "Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminders merkers Bevaring," 1878-1881. 4 vols.
- „ „ for "Norske Bygninger Fra Fortiden." Parts 10, 11. Kristiania, 1879, 1880. Udgivne af "Foreningen," etc.
- „ „ for "Kunst og Haandwerk for Norges Fortid." Two Parts.
- „ „ for "Norske Myntfund fra det niende Aarhundrede," af O. Rygh; "Om Helleristninger i Norge," by the same; "Bidrag til en Oversigt over den Skandinaviske Stenalder i Norge," by the same.
- „ „ for "Fund fra broncealderen i det nordenfjeldske Norge," af K. Rygh.
- „ „ for "Memoria del Socio Gio. Gozzadini di due Statuette Etrusche e di una iscrizione Etrusca dissotterrate nell' Apenino Bolognese" (Reale Accad. dei Lincei), 1883.
- „ „ for "Report of the Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia," 1881.
- To M. H. Bloxam, Esq.*, for "The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture," Eleventh Edition, 3 vols., 1882.
- To M. Luis Arrigoni*, for "Souvenir de Petrarque," 1883, 4to.
- To Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Co.*, for "The Myth of Kirkê," by Robert Brown, Esq., F.S.A.

To *Rev. B. Blacker, M.A.*, for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries," Parts XIX, XX.

To *W. George, Esq.*, for "New Facts relating to the Chatterton Family," 1883.

To *C. Host of Christiania, Norway*, for "Myntfundet fra Græslid i Thydalen," by *Dr. L. B. Stenersen*. 1881.

To *Dr. Yngvar Nielsen*, for "Høestuen paa Bygdv."

To *Edwin A. Barber of Philadelphia, the Author*, for "Collection of Tobacco Pipes in the Pennsylvania Museum," Philadelphia; "Pueblo Pottery;" "Mound-Pipes;" and "Antiquity of the Tobacco-Pipe in Europe, and Comparative Vocabulary of Utah Dialects." 1877.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., exhibited for *Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A.*, a sketch of remains of Plymouth Castle, to which the attention of the members of the Association had been directed during the Congress of 1882. He also exhibited two sketches received from *Mr. Henderson*, of the chancel-arch of the church of Ashford Carbonel, which he believed to be early Norman in style. He also described the result of recent excavations at Taplow, a notice of which will be found further on; and on behalf of *Mr. Kramer* he laid on the table two views of Cromer Church. Of his own collection, *Mr. Brock* exhibited a two-pronged bone fork with parallel lines in pairs, from Dowgate; a spur of the kind known as a costrel spur; a spoon of Jacobean date; and a small brass buckle, silvered, from the site of Northumberland House.

In the discussion which ensued, the *Rev. A. Taylor*, *Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A.*, *Mr. C. Brent*, and *Dr. Phené*, took part.

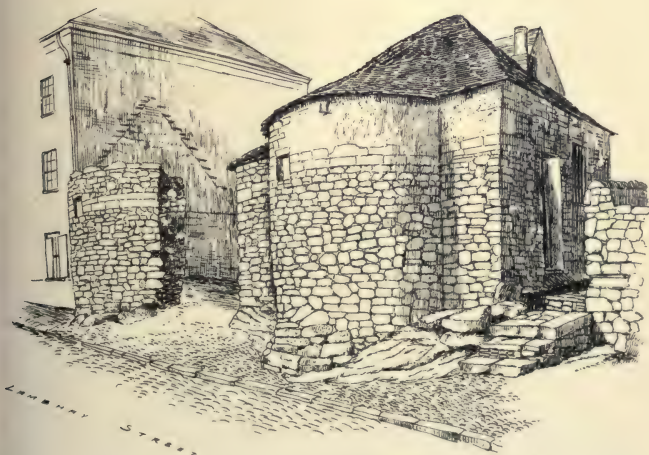
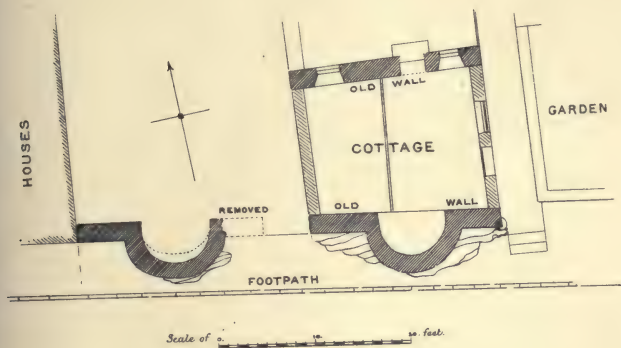
The *Rev. W. A. Cutting, M.A., Vicar of Gayton, near Lynn*, sent for exhibition a rubbing of a brass, with the following note: "In the river that flows by *St. Benet Abbey, near Norwich*, was lately found a brass plate with a piece chipped off to the right, and on it the inscription:

‘Orate p’ aia Warreni
Alen qⁱ obijt ix die m[ensis Mar-]
cii A^o doⁱ m.v^e.xxvi.’

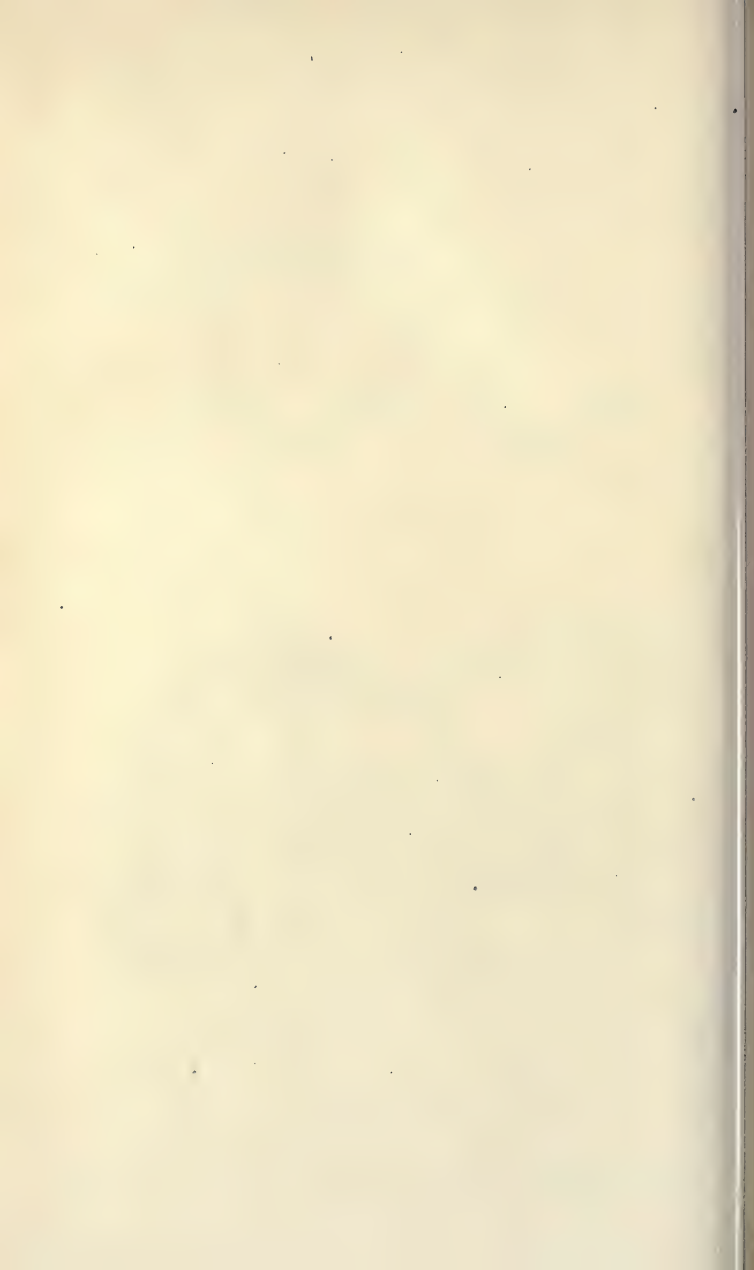
Something is lost after 'warreni' and after the 'm'. The word 'warreni' is obscure. The rubbing was sent to me by the gamekeeper in the cottage hard by. One of his children picked up the plate, which is about 8 inches by 3. The point is, does such a waif serve to throw light on anything beyond itself,—anything that is known, or partially known, about the last days of the Abbey as it was? else it is of little value, as it seems to me."

Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., sent for exhibition the coloured drawing of an iron implement, with the following description: "I

THE OLD CASTLE OF PLYMOUTH.



REMAINS OF THE GATEWAY.



send, on the part of Captain Thorp, an implement in iron in his possession, found at Yarbridge, near Brading, I.W., at a considerable depth. It is a billhook, but of what date I am not certain; nor whether it be a woodman's implement, or a weapon of the kind called *guisarme*, of which Mr. Planché engraves an example, and says that there are several in the Tower of London.¹ Mr. George Payne has two examples in his museum at Sittingbourne, found in the vicinity of Roman interments, but not with any Roman remains; neither do I know of any discovered under circumstances that would induce us to assign to them so early a date. My belief is that they are mediæval."

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., laid on the table, on behalf of Mr. F. Brent, F.R.H.S., a fine *couteau*, and read the following notes:

ON A COUTEAU-DE-CHASSE FOUND ON A COFFIN IN THE CHURCH-YARD OF ERMINGTON, SOUTH DEVON.

BY F. BRENT, ESQ., F.R.H.S.

I exhibit an interesting weapon that has lately come into my possession, the only history attaching to which, as far as I have yet been able to ascertain, is that during some alterations that were made in the churchyard of Ermington, near Ivybridge, it was found deposited upon a coffin that it was deemed necessary to remove to another spot in the churchyard. It is peculiar in form and style of ornamentation, and unless it can be considered to be a *couteau-de-chasse*, I am at a loss to imagine for what purpose it could originally have been used. Without guards to the hilt, it could scarcely have been a weapon of offence or for defence; but as a hunting-knife it would have proved highly serviceable for ham-stringing a stag when brought to bay; and it would be interesting to ascertain at some future time whether a story attaches to any former member of one of our older Devonshire families, to account for this knife having been placed upon his coffin at the time of his burial. I have not, at present, been able to compare it with any similar weapon, so as to assign, with any degree of certainty, a date for the time of its use; but a friend to whom I have submitted a rubbing from the brass ornamentation, and a description of the weapon itself, is of opinion that it may be considered to be of the time of the early half of the seventeenth century, and that it is of German or French manufacture.

The pattern of the brass-work ornamenting the blade and the hilt, and representing snakes, scrolls, and flowers, would lead one to believe that it is of German origin; and the peculiar ornamentation of the hilt itself is different from anything that may be considered to be English. The blade is 2 ft. 1 inch in length, allowing for a small portion that has recently been broken off the point; it is 1½ inch broad at the middle;

¹ *Cyclopædia of Costume*, vol. i, p. 321.

and about a quarter of an inch thick at the back. It has a graceful curve from the hilt to the point. The hilt, from the insertion of the blade to the end, is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and is composed of two pieces of wood fastened together, through the iron prong of the blade, by means of studs. It has a curved knob at the extreme end to prevent the weapon slipping out of the hand of the holder. The hilt is bound with two bands of embossed brass, and a band of the same material passes round the wood work at the insertion of the blade. A strip of brass is carried along the back of the knife for about 5 inches, and might once have been longer, as a portion thereof appears to have broken off; and the base of the blade is ornamented with two triangular pieces of embossed brass, once probably gilt, the design of which is extremely elegant. Near the end of the hilt a number of little silver pins have been driven into the wood on each side, the object of which, in addition to that of ornament, would appear to be to give a firmer hold to the hand. These pins, however, are also inserted over the extreme end of the hilt. On each side also have been seven, or probably nine, circular ornaments. Some of these have come out, and are lost; but the few remaining enable it to be perceived that they consisted of small pieces of ivory or bone inserted in a circular recess bordered with a rim of silver or gold wire. The ivory ornaments consisted of six lozenge-shaped pieces each, divided by means of silver wire, and have smaller pieces of ivory inserted to fill up the spaces and complete the circle. The blade is much rusted, and is broken at the tip, whilst some of the wood composing the hilt has been broken off and lost, and with it some of the ivory circular ornaments and silver pins. But considering that this elegant knife may have been buried for one hundred and fifty years, it is otherwise in a fair state of preservation.

Mr. C. Brent also exhibited a collection of antiquities, and said, "The small bronze fibula which I exhibit was found about a month ago at Canterbury, in a place lately called the Martyrs' Field, said to have been the place where the Martyrs were burnt; it was also the place where the tents for the plague patients were erected. The builder, from whom I obtained the fibula, was building a store close to the London and Chatham Railway Station, when, in digging out the foundations, he came upon the remains of thirty skeletons, feet to the east, and at a depth varying from five to ten feet; in one grave only the skull remained; in another, traces of a coffin of black wood; two armlets on one arm-bone, one complete urn of black ware; a portion of a Samian vase, on which was depicted a Roman soldier with shield and helmet; a few flints of a peculiar shape; some round flints, about four or five inches in diameter; a quantity of fragments of Roman and British pottery; one coin; and two or three rings.

"The British urn which I exhibit was found in 1883 at Bromley, Kent, in digging the foundation of a new house; it is of a light yellow colour and marked with a zigzag pattern. I also exhibit three palæolithic flints—two from Reculvers, and one from Canterbury; also the haft of an axe of deer-horn from the Lake Brienz, Switzerland."

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. W. C. Borlase, M.P., F.S.A., Dr. Phené, Mr. W. Myers, and Mr. Birch took part.

Mr. W. G. Smith, F.L.S., exhibited a very large and finely-shaped palæolithic flint implement, lately picked up on a gravel heap in Clerkenwell. Mr. W. C. Borlase, M.A., M.P., F.S.A., exhibited a very large collection of objects gathered up by him during recent travels in America and Japan. They comprised several hundred American flint arrow heads, celts, scrapers, shell celts, Indian tobacco pipes, *meris* and *tikis*, from New Zealand, Japanese celts, and miscellaneous relics. Mr. Borlase gave an interesting account of each object, which was much appreciated by the numerous body of members and visitors who were present; and a spirited discussion afterwards ensued, in which Dr. Phené, Mr. Myers, Rev. A. Taylor, Professor Hodgetts, and the Chairman, took part.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper by the Rev. Prebendary H. M. Scarth, M.A., entitled "Recent Discoveries at Aquincum in Hungary, and some Roman Inscriptions recording the Conquest under Trajan." It is hoped that this paper will find a future place in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1883.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected :

Ernest E. Baker, Esq., Weston-super-Mare

Rev. G. F. Browne, M.A., St. Catherine's College, Cambridge.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Association," 1882-83, vol. vii, Part 2.

To the Author, for "Heilagra Manna Sögur," Parts I, II. By Dr. C. R. Unger. Christiania, 1877.

" " for "Myntfundel fra Græslid i Thydalen," by Dr. L. B. Stenersen, Keeper of the Coins in the University of Christiania. 1881.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited three photographs of the ancient Roman bath at Bath, co. Somerset, discovered by C. E.

Davis, Esq. The photographs were exhibited by permission of Mr. Lewis, photographer, Bath.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited, and Mr. Brock described, a collection of relics from Southwark, including Roman Upchurch ware; a first brass of Nero; a third brass of Licinius; a Constantine; Urbs Roma, Constantine the Great; a tradesman's token of "T. S., 1652, AT THE END OF KENT STREET", and Tallowchandlers' Arms; a Delft plate; a fragment of Welsh marbled ware; a table-knife, seventeenth century; and a spoon, same date; a bone of *bos longifrons*; a grey ware jug, 6 inches high, fifteenth century; a yellow ware jug with splash of green glaze on neck, 8 inches high, same date.

Mr. Brock exhibited an oval badge: *obv.*, bust of Charles I, profile to right; *rev.*, arms of Great Britain in inscribed garter.

Mr. J. R. Allen exhibited three carved snuff-graters of Dutch art, one with nutmeg-box, eighteenth century; and apple-scoops from Pembrokeshire,—one bone, two boxwood.

Mr. C. H. Compton exhibited photographs showing rectangular slabs of flint, from an old church at Cromer, similar to those seen at Canterbury and Sandwich. The art of making these flints into rectangular blocks is believed to be a secret.

Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, read the following:

REVIEW OF THE DOVER CONGRESS.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., V.P., *HON. TREASURER*.

After a cruise through the various counties of England during the last forty years, it is pleasing again to revisit the scenes of our youth; and the county of Kent may not improperly be called the birthplace of the British Archæological Association. On Monday, the 20th of August 1883, we assembled in the Guildhall of Dover, a building which has incorporated the old Maison Dieu built in the reign of Henry III, and extended in that of his son. Hubert de Burgh was the founder of this hospital, intended not only to provide for the sick and infirm pilgrims who might break down on their way to or from foreign parts, but to afford hospitality generally. The manor of River was among his princely endowments for these useful purposes. One purpose, at least, if not the endowment, has descended to the times of the worthy Mayor whose hospitality has been so liberally extended to our Association on this occasion. The magnificent hall, enriched with the portraits, emblems, and arms of Dover worthies of the olden time, is also adapted to the many modern requirements of an important municipality; and the building is, indeed, as worthy of the nineteenth century as was the old Maison Dieu of the thirteenth. Here our Association was welcomed by Richard Dickeson, Esq., the Mayor, and the

Corporation of Dover, by whom was presented to us an address and a sketch of the archaeological work to be done. This address was written and illuminated upon vellum, with the common seal of the port and town attached, bound up in morocco case: the seal impressed on one side with an equestrian figure of St. Martin cutting his cloak in two with a sword, to share it with a beggar; and on the reverse a ship bearing the arms of the port. In attempting a *résumé* of the Congress proceedings I cannot do better than adopt the text of the Mayor's address as the order of the day, verified, as it has been, by our perambulations through the county.

Hubert de Burgh held two of the highest posts in the kingdom, those of Justiciary and Warden of the Cinque Ports, in the reigns of John and Henry III, of which ports Dover was one of the original members, furnishing twenty-one ships out of the fifty-seven, at their own cost, for fifteen days. The office of Warden, now filled by our Noble President, Earl Granville, K.G., has continued in a line of officers to the present time. When the whole south of England was already, in A.D. 1216, in possession of a foreign power, Hubert de Burgh bravely held Dover Castle, and at last defeated the enemy at sea. The English spirit of independence, in its constant struggle against foreign influence, showed itself alike in the words of De Burgh when asked to surrender Dover Castle to Lewis of France; and not less in the thirteenth century architecture of our churches, in which the style rightly named Early English carved out for itself an independent career and lines which for chaste and elegant proportions have not been surpassed in any country. We may point to the fine specimens of the style seen during this Congress in the aisle of St. Bartholomew's Hospital at Sandwich, in the chancel of St. Leonard's at Hythe, and in the work of the English William in Canterbury Cathedral. Our ways are rather through the bye-paths of history than along its broad roads. We are not, however, to begin historical research at the thirteenth century. The Saxon kingdom of Kent, after the legions of Rome had melted away, stood under its own sovereigns during 375 years, until its destinies were united with those of the whole kingdom, under Egbert, in 823.

We possess original charters and good chronicles up to the thirteenth century by the Monks, and especially the Benedictines of the times in which they lived, even if what they tell us of history preceding their own must be taken with some reserve. Their asceticism and abstraction from the social pleasures of the world were an exaggerated expression of religion as it was understood in those days, yet it did not prevent Lanfranc from being a statesman, or Thomas à Becket a man of the world, in the sense of his large experience of men, or Baldwin, the Archbishop, from fighting the Saracens in the Holy

Land, and they could write history when they would. By the careful and critical editing of the charters and Monkish chronicles by well-qualified professors and experts in palæography, under the authority of the Master of the Rolls, the trustees of the British Museum and the office of the Ordnance Survey at Southampton, misconstructions and inconsistencies have been detected and guarded against, so that these histories are now more than ever available, and I will extract a few records to illustrate some of the less well-known facts which bear upon the remains we have been visiting.

The *Annales Insignes* of Dover is a MS. hopelessly injured by fire,¹ but has been made use of to confirm or compare with the continuation of Gervase of Canterbury in vol. ii of the "Rolls Edition" of that author, by Professor Stubbs; and in the preface to the said volume he points out the facts in it which have not been hitherto recorded by historians. The Rev. Canon also shows the close coincidences between the two documents for the period between 1240 and 1270, though not copied from each other, and attributes the continuation of Gervase to a Monk of either Christ's Church, Canterbury, or St. Martin's Priory, Dover. The following facts are from the above volume:—

Anno 1203. Mission of the Abbot of Casamari as mediator between King John and Philip of France, mentioned by Rigonel but not by English historians. John swears to maintain the rights of his kingdom, and takes extraordinary measures against invasion, giving special directions for the appointment of constables. Committees were to be formed throughout the kingdom, and all males of twelve years of age and upwards were to be sworn in. The clergy also were parties to the edict, and this important document, of which an abstract is here preserved, does not seem to be extant elsewhere.

1213. Whilst the King of England with an innumerable force of soldiery was waiting for the arrival of the King of France, two brothers of the Order of the Temple came to the king at Dover and persuaded him, *volens, nolens*, to take the advice of Pandulphus, the sum of which was that he was to drop all rancour of spirit, recall all the proscribed, and pardon all past offences and injuries. This was done at Dover, and an agreement, article by article, was distinctly drawn up and signed on both sides on 13th day of May, in the fourteenth year of the reign of King John. Then comes another agreement, which has been called *the detestable*, and John met Pandulph, with the magnates of the kingdom, at the house of the Soldiers of the Temple near Dover, on the 15th day of May, on the eve of the Ascension, where the king, agreeably with what had been decreed at Rome, resigned his crown, with the kingdoms of England and Ireland, into the hands of the Pope, whose vice-gerent Pandulph then was, and so John was humbled.

¹ Cott. MS. Julius, D. 5.

1230. Raymond de Burgh, nephew of Hubert, the Justiciary of England, is drowned at Nantes in the river Loire, and his body is carried to Dover and buried in the Maison Dieu.

1260. This year, Richard, King of the Romans, crossed over into Germany, and soon after suddenly returned and came to Dover without the knowledge of any one, without horses and without armour, so that he took with him to Canterbury the horses of the Prior of Dover, and kept them a whole week, failing his being horsed.

The text of the Mise of Amiens is here given, and the protest of the Bishops in July 1264, which is not found elsewhere.

On a fly-leaf of the *Dover Annals* are the challenges interchanged before the battle of Lewes.

1264, 3rd December. There came to Dover Henry, King of England, Richard King of the Romans, the Princes Edward and Henry of Almaine, John Earl of Warrenne, Roger Earl Marshall, Hugh Bigod, his brother, Earl of Hereford, Philip Basset, Roger Mortimer, Thomas Corbet, and many other barons and nobles, with a great army and in arms; and the said king went to the gate of his castle of Dover with all the said barons and nobles, and demanded admission into the castle itself, which could not be allowed, because he thus came in arms, Richard de Grey, the warden, being absent. The king withdrew to the Priory of Dover, and there remained the eve of St. Nicholas (5th December), having first held a Parliament. The said king made Roger de Leyburne warden, of the Cinque Ports, administering to him first the oath of fidelity, and so he retired from Dover with all his army.

Henry, after attending a parliament of the King of France at Amiens, is at Wissant in February 1265, sending two solemn messengers to England to demand admission to Dover Castle; he is again refused, and crossing to Dover the day after St. Valentine's, he is honourably received at the Priory of Dover. After being again refused admittance at the Castle, and repeating in presence of all the award or judgment of the King of France, he returned to Canterbury, where he stayed for nine days.

A new historical fact is that Richard, King of the Romans, acted as Regent on behalf of Henry III, during an illness which attacked the latter king the year before his death. Under the year 1277 is a circumstantial account of the position occupied by the Benedictine Priory of St. Martin with reference to the mother-church of Christ at Canterbury, to which it was made subservient after a long series of struggles for its own independence. The original establishment of St. Martin's had been founded within the Castle of Dover, by Eadbert, son of Ethelbert, for twenty-four secular canons, to serve his chapel there. These were removed into the town by Wihtred of Kent, the fourth king

after Ethelbert, in 691. Wihtred found himself hard-pressed on one occasion by enemies, and prayed through St. Martin for help. Having gained a victory the king could do no less than found a church to St. Martin, and he appointed secular canons to it, and provided largely for their support out of his revenues. From the time of this king down to the days of William de Corbeuil, Archbishop of Canterbury (1123-1136), the canons remained there, having a dean and prebends according to the custom of secular canons. The church of Christ was to be consecrated by Archbishop William, which happened on the 4th Nones of May 1130, with due honour and magnificence, and on that occasion King Henry I endowed Christ Church with the church of St. Martin at Dover, with all its appurtenances, and confirmed the grant by his charter. But Archbishop William ordered a new church to be constructed *outside the town*, in which he proposed to establish regular canons in place of the secular, a privilege which was granted him; and when all was ready to effect this change he conveyed the Monks of the brotherhood of Merton to Dover, with all necessities, in company of two bishops, John of Rochester and Bernard of St. David's, and Harlewyn, Archdeacon of Canterbury, to be installed into the new church of Dover. Repeated appeals were made against this change, but they led to no result. In the meantime Archbishop William died and Theobald succeeded him, another Archbishop from the Monastery of Bec in Normandy, from whence we had received Lanfranc and Anselm in previous reigns.

Theobald granted a charter, the text of which is given in full, to the monastery at Canterbury, to have and to hold St. Martin's Church as a cell to their house, stipulating that the Prior of St. Martin's must be a professed Monk of the church of Canterbury. The chronicler then says, "We have written this narrative for the use and information of the Monks of Canterbury who may come after, that they may better understand the jurisdiction and power which Christ Church has over the church of Dover, both *sede vacante* as well as *plenâ*. The annals show the strife between the two establishments, which was not finally settled till the reign of Edward III.

From the hospitable board of the Mayor at the Lord Warden Hotel, steam conveyed our large party to the precincts of this once famous Priory, picturesque even in those portions of the buildings which still remain, enclosed and preserved from further destruction by a College Company, who after some careful restorations under the direction of Mr. Taverner Perry, M.R.I.B.A., make use of the refectory for a school, and of the guesten hall for a church, and of the Priory gateway for a library. The latter, when in a ruinous condition, was restored at the expense of Mr. R. Dickeson, the present Mayor. The refectory is of noble proportions, over 100 feet long, and

at the east end can still be traced a large delineation of the Last Supper, though little more than the heads of the figures, each crowned with its *nimbus*, remains indented in the surface of the wall. The continuous circular arcading around the walls corroborates the date, and the College Company deserve the thanks of all antiquaries for the care they have taken in its preservation. The guesten house is interesting not only for its architecture and spacious fire-place with wide chimney, but for the associations connected with it. Let the annals record how often it was used by royalty and the many eminent guests who were here entertained. The church no longer exists, any more than the chapter-house or cloisters or dormitory, but Mr. Parker Ayers had drawn a plan and taken measurements, by which and from some of the foundations still *in situ*, Mr. Brock was enabled to point out the main plan of this grand establishment, the length of the interior of the church having been no less than 285 feet. The walls also of a large barn still remain beyond the guesten house. The plunder of the Priory by the French, and the massacre of one of the brethren, Thomas de la Hale, were graphically described by the Rev. Canon Scott-Robertson at an evening meeting.

The ancient as well as modern history of the Priory has been given us by Dr. E. F. Astley. The register-book of the church of Appledore, under date 1600, says, "In ye chancel wyndow is ye Prior of St. Marten's at Dover kneelinge in ye vestments of his order, to which this place belonged, being a part of their demesnes."¹

The Rev. Mr. Lyons, in his *History of Dover*, mentions six churches as formerly existing; the greater and the lesser St. Martin's; St. Mary's, of which he was the rector; St. James'; and two others which have disappeared in the manner described by Canon Scott-Robertson. It is not clear where the old St. Martin's, which for over four hundred years existed in the town of Dover, was situated. We saw some ruins near St. Mary's Church, which presumedly stand on the site of the old foundation by King Wihtried.

Leaving St. Martin's Priory, we were greeted at the Guildhall with an address from the Kent Archæological Society, through Sir Walter Stirling, Bart., in graceful terms, which could not but meet with cordial appreciation by the British Archæological Association; and the afternoon was well filled up by Mr. Edward Knocker's exhaustive account of the muniments of the Corporation, which are very numerous; and the description given by Mr. Richard Sims of the British Museum, of a considerable number of Dover records which exist there, some of them having once belonged to the Corporation. They will complete a collection from which a future annalist of Dover may compile a history embracing some of the most interesting passages in the annals of England.

¹ *Archæologia Cant.*, vol. xiv.

The regalia, the silver oar, the large silver bowls, and an ancient thirteenth century horn, of the Corporation were commented on by Mr. George Lambert, F.S.A., with his usual critical acumen and knowledge of the subject.

On the Saturday we met at St. Mary's, and that interesting old church was described by the Rev. Canon Puckle, the Rector, who met us in the afternoon, in the Church of St. Martin's in the Castle. In the meantime St. James' Church claimed our attention, and the chamber attached to it on the south side, where the Court of Admiralty was at one time held. The proceedings were described by Mr. E. Knocker, and verified by a number of the original records and seals, which were produced.

We then proceeded up the western heights to the Breden Stone, being the ruins of an old Roman pharos which once lighted up this western side of the harbour, while that on the Castle Hill shone out from the eastern. The remains have been found, close by, of the church of the Templars; and from the testimony brought forward by Mr. Wright, from the researches of Mr. John Ward,¹ Mr. Edward Knocker, Major Sturt, R.E., and others, it seems no longer doubtful that, agreeably with the Mayor's statement in the address, the agreement between King John and Pandulphus was here made, and not at the Castle of Dover, or at either of the preceptories of the Templars at Swingfield or at Ewell.

On mounting the opposite hill, on which the Castle stands, the earthworks of the different ages were seen adapted, as they were, to the mode of warfare of each; on which subject Mr. Thomas Blashill had read us a paper the previous evening, illustrated with drawings and plans. Arrived at the Canon's Gate, we were met by the gallant General Newdigate, C.B., commanding the forces of the district, and by Colonel Goodenough, C.B., in command of the Royal Artillery, who, after pointing out the main features of the position, introduced us to Major Plunkett and Major Sturt of the Royal Engineers, whose special province it was to preside over the fortifications and works; and we could not have been in better hands. From the highest turret of the old keep Major Plunkett explained to us that this was about the only fortress in England where at one view could be seen the first earthworks of the Romans (said, however, to have been previously occupied as a British entrenchment), then a new system of outworks was adopted; and later again, the Norman keep and outer works in stone, down to the successive systems of Vauban. Then the canoniers were thrown out at right angles to the fort, across the fosse, to command the whole line of the attack. This and the subsequent systems were

¹ See *Archæologia Cant.*, vol. xiii, p. 281, and a plan of the ruins is given in vol. xi.

clearly explained by Major Plunkett on the spot and in the works, where the arrangements were shown for circumventing an enemy if he succeeded in forcing an entry ; and the long underground galleries were lighted up for the occasion,—an attention for which we could not but be thankful.

The Constable's Tower at Dover recalled the many predecessors of the present gallant General, who have taken a prominent part in history by their defence of this stronghold. King John's Chapel was one of the points of interest here, of which a drawing is given by the Rev. Thomas S. Curteis of Sevenoaks (Plate I, *frontispiece*).

And lastly we entered the old church of St. Martin, in the Castle, restored by the late Sir G. Gilbert Scott. It is spacious and of lofty dimensions ; the walls built of Roman brick, making it difficult to give up the opinion expressed by the Rev. Canon Puckle, General Goodenough, and others, that the building dates from Roman times ; while Mr. J. T. Irvine, the architect who assisted in the restoration, would carry the date to the end of the tenth century, which in its present form is likely. But a Roman building, doubtless, stood on the spot, from which were drawn the tiles or bricks of which the church is built, and possibly the foundations and portions of walls may be part of the Roman building. Could it have been the church erected for the Secular Canons, placed here by Eadbald in the sixth century ? Would not theirs have been on a smaller scale ? And when domiciled in Dover town a hundred years later, would Wihtred have increased the size of the church from which the canons were removed ? Its proportions would better suit the grander ideas of an Otho, an Athelm, or a Wulfhelm, in the days of King Athelstan ; or of a Dunstan, a Wulstan, or an Ethelwold, in the days of Edgar. Divine service, which many of our party attended on the Sunday, was doubly impressive from the associations attached to the spot dedicated to Christian worship from such early times. The Roman walls which form the base of the Pharos, or Roman light-house, carefully inspected within and without, showed where the later octagonal superstructure was added in after times.¹ Our journeys outside the town of Dover were begun on the Tuesday by railway up to the very gates of the old Roman fortress of Rutupiaë. The withdrawal of the sea from this part of the coast, by the silting up of the sand through the action of the tide and the deposition of mud in the beds of rivers, has had the effect of drying up the ports of Lympne, Dover, and Sandwich, as regards the first and last of these ports, which are left some two miles from the sea.

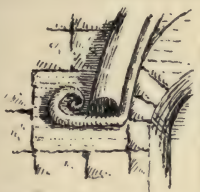
¹ In 1844 Mr. Planché remarked that he believed the arms on the stone on the north side of the pharos were those of Sir John de Grey, Constable of Dover Castle in 1257. They were "barry of six *argent* and *azure*, in chief three *tor-teaux*."

Dover harbour, now artificially constructed, probably ran up formerly between the Castle Hill and Western Heights towards Charlton, forming a fine natural haven. The importance of these three ports in Roman times is proved by the strong walled forts at *Rutupiæ*, Richborough, *Portus Lemanis*, Lymne, and the Roman earth-works and light-houses at Dover. A Roman road ran in a straight line from each of these three ports to Canterbury, and from thence kept up the communication between the ports of landing and the other garrisons of the island.

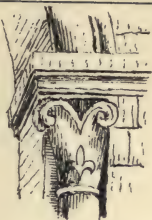
Mr. George Dowker gave an exhaustive description of Richborough camp, and of the materials of which the walls are composed. It seems to have been a parallelogram of about 600 feet square, if completed on the eastern side; that is, nearly of the same size as Studfall Castle at Lymne, if this were completed on its southern face, and of Burgh in Suffolk if this were made good on its northern, to form a square where the land has given way.

Rutupiæ was flanked on the north side by two square towers, and there were traces of one on the west and one on the south side. At the angles of the north wall were circular or elliptic towers, but these were no longer to be seen, except in fragments. The eastern wall has disappeared, the bank having fallen away towards the Stour river which once flanked this side. An opening exists in the west wall, 34 feet wide, supposed to have been the principal entrance. The original use of the mass of solid masonry inside the camp has not been determined, extending as it does 104 feet in width by 144 feet in length, and descending 30 feet into the ground. A passage below the base of the masonry has been cut around the whole circumference, and a lateral boring into the masonry to the extent of some feet, but no trace of an opening or hollow chamber has been found. It is now proposed to bore down vertically from the top, which has not yet been done. On the surface of this masonry is an elevated platform in form of a cross, which might be the site of a chapel or hermitage, as mentioned by Leland. A chapel and monastery existed at one time inside the fort of Burgh in Suffolk, and foundations of a cruciform building were also found within the walls of Pevensey.

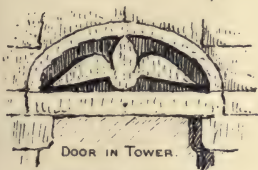
From Sandwich harbour, defended in Roman times by this strong fort, an arm of the sea, now represented by a small stream, was then a good waterway some three furlongs broad, which under the name of Wantsome ran into the Thames at Reculver, and was guarded there by the Roman fortress of *Regulbium*, a parallelogram of about the dimensions of *Rutupiæ*. The continuation of this waterway through the Swale, by the mouth of the Medway, conducted ships for ages to the port of London. The baptism in the Swale of the many early converts to Christianity has been dwelt upon with picturesque details



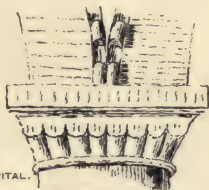
CONSTABLE'S TOWER DOVER
DRIPSTONE TERMINATION.



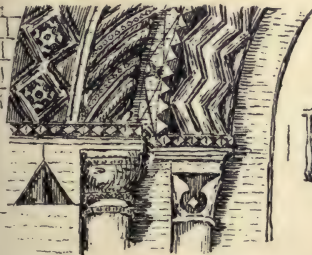
ST. MARY'S IN DOVER CASTLE.



DOOR IN TOWER.
ST. MARGARET'S AT CLIFFE.



CAPITAL.
ST. MARY THE VIRGIN DOVER.



ST. MARGARET'S AT CLIFFE. NORTH DOOR.



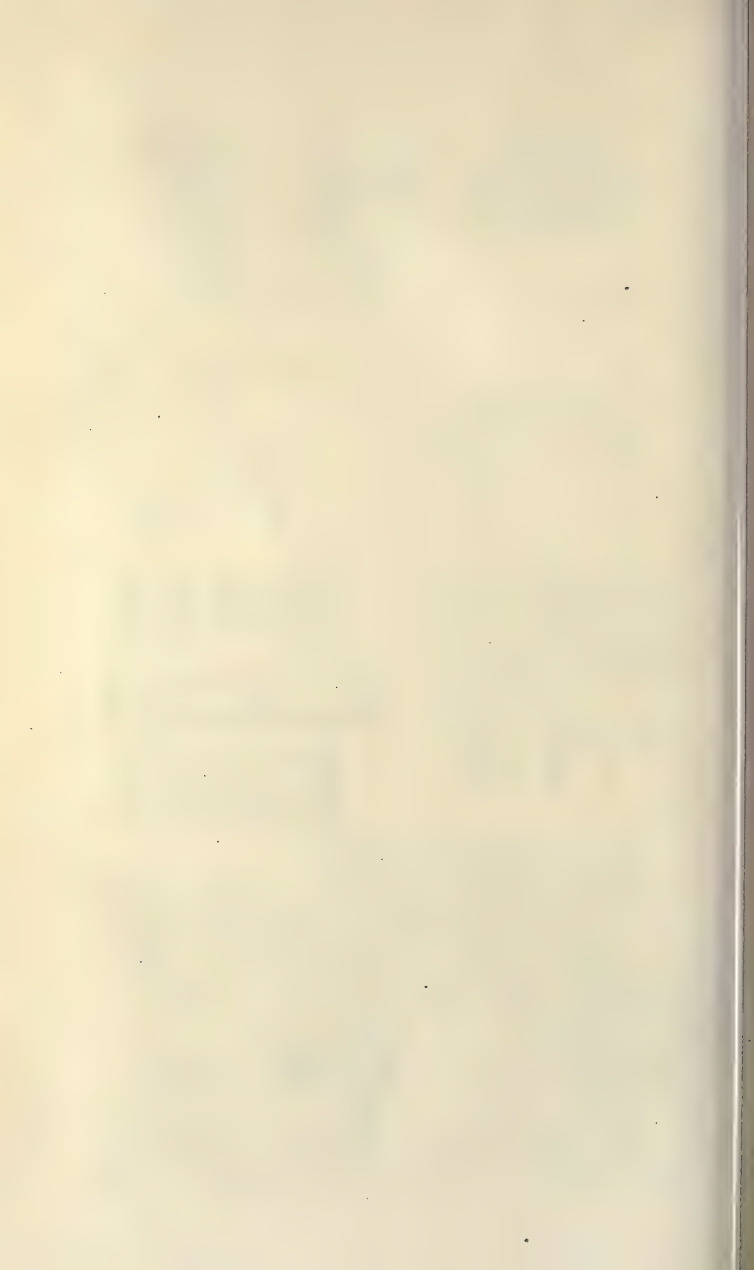
STRING COURSE BARFRETON.



ST. MARY'S BARFRETON.
DOOR IN S. CHANCEL WALL.



CORBELS. BARFRETON.



by the late Dean Stanley in his *Memorials of Canterbury*. Thanet, the isle of nobles, was then really an island, and has received no less renown from the convent at Minster, planted there by St. Mildred,¹ than from the palace of Ethelred, the first Christian king of Kent at Reculver. The illustrious lady, daughter of Dompneva, otherwise Ermenburga, who was a granddaughter of Eadbald, King of Kent, received the veil at the hands of the Greek Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus in about A.D. 680. Her convent, destroyed by the Danes, came afterwards into the hands of the Monks of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, a fraternity which almost shared with Christ's Church the ownership of land in these parts, as is seen by many curious lawsuits and arrangements between them, described by Thorn and others. The *Domesday Survey* furnishes interesting particulars of their early tenures.

Intercourse between France and England, which existed before Julius Cæsar, is carried on afterwards through the quartering in this country of many cohorts of soldiers raised from tribes which had once been his fiercest opponents, as the *Tungri*, occupying in his time the territory about Cologne, furnished a cohort quartered at Dover when the *Notitia* was written; one, of the *Turnacenses* about Tournay, was at Lymne, and a cohort of *Vatasii* at Reculver; another, of the *Abuleii* at Pevensey. The great Roman consular highway from Milan, and another from Arles, through Vienne, Lyons, Rheims, Amiens, and Boulogne, kept up a communication with Rome, which had scarcely been interrupted since the age of the Cæsars. In the doubtfully recorded intervening times we have the life of St. Martin by Servius Sulpicius. The name of the Saint is a household word with us, from the many dedications to his memory. Born in the eleventh year of Constantine the Great, and son of a veteran soldier, he was required to serve in the army, which he did for twenty-three years under Constantius and Julian. After retiring from the army he built a monastery near Poitiers, where his friend St. Hilary was Bishop. He himself was afterwards made Bishop of Tours, and founded the renowned Abbey of Marmoutier near his cathedral town. At Candès, on the river Vienne, near where it joins the Loire, he breathed his last, in about A.D. 397, and his tomb is shown in the church there. His military career had nerved him to combat heresy, and this champion of the western church was the first to establish monasteries in France. His tomb was visited with much devotion by his admirers, among whom were St. Gregory of Tours and St. Radegond a century

¹ There are charters of earlier date granting lands to a predecessor, the Abbess Aebba, in Thanet (see *Cartularium Saxonicum*, by Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A.; No. 35 dated 17 Jan. 675; Nos. 40 and 41 without date; No. 42 dated 1 Mar. 676).

later. This lady, daughter of the King of Thuringia, married Clothaire, and founded the famous Abbey of the Holy Cross at Poitiers. This country, watered by the Loire, claims notice also from the famous Abbey of Fontevrault, the burial place of our two first Plantaganet kings, as also of Eleanor of Guienne and Berengaria and King John's wife, Isabella d'Angoulême.

The sees of the bishops and the abbacies of both countries, interchanged even in Dunstan's time by the dignitaries holding them, became more intimately connected under the Anjevin kings. The Cistercian Abbey of Pontigny, near Sens, had the advowson of New Romney made over to that foundation in 1264, when Boniface of Savoy was Archbishop of Canterbury. From Boulogne or Wissant (the supposed *Portus Iccius*) the passage of the channel was usually made to the bay of Sandwich guarded by the Castle of Richborough, or to Dover; and the imperial way from Milan and Arles, afterwards known as the road of Brunehaut, was used by bishops, kings, and generals.

The proceedings of the Danes on these coasts, scanty as are the memorials of them, are too well known to need repetition. Many fresh details of the period, however, may still see the light from the editing of Saxon Charters by the many hands engaged upon them. The old town and Cinque Port of Sandwich survives to bear witness to what it once was, though little of the busy life of a modern town remains to it. The river Stour still forms a commodious highway for traffic, and a spacious quay lines its banks. An old Tudor gateway, the "Fisher's Gate", leads down to the river from the town; and after surveying this and the opposite shore, where Stonar is situated, visits were paid to several interesting churches, as St. Bartholomew's Church and Hospital and the large church of St. Clement's with its fine Norman tower, and perhaps more ancient arch inside, over the belfry stairs, described by R. J. Emmerson, Esq. The church of St. Mary's was described by the Vicar, the Rev. A. M. Chichester, and the Vicar of St. Peter's gave the history also of his own, which stands in need of much reparation. It may be judged from these remains that the old town was worthy of presenting an address to royalty in the days of Charles II; and on the walls of the quaint old Town-hall some interesting contemporaneous pictures were displayed of a pageant, wherein Queen Catherine of Braganza occupies a seat in the state carriage which waits to receive the address. The Ashburnham family had presented these pictures to the town from which they had long been estranged, and the account of them was given by the Mayor, W. J. Hughes, Esq., and Mr. Alderman Dorman.

A special train conveyed us to Walmer Castle. Before entering the portal, in which is still seen the groove to receive the portcullis, we

noticed a stone in the low wall which leads up to the gate, inscribed as follows: "This castle was built in the year 1540. This wall was built in the year 1661."

In the unavoidable absence of our President, the Warden of the Cinque Ports, Lady Granville graciously welcomed our large party on the delightful open platform, overlooking the sea, which surrounds the habitable rooms of this old fortress. Sir Walter James and many other members of the Kent Archæological Society met us here, and after several pleasant hours in the fresh sea air, partaking of the hospitality most liberally held out to us, we were shown over the house, inspecting the room where the Duke of Wellington died, as plainly furnished as was that he was in the habit of occupying at Apsley House. Prints of Pitt, Burke, and eminent statesmen, however, gave an air of life to this last hermitage of a great spirit passed away. The grounds in the moat and outside it shone in the great variety of forest trees, evergreen shrubs, and flower beds in full luxuriance of foliage and blossom. The evening meeting at Dover would not allow us to remain here as long as we could have wished. The paper of Professor Hayter-Lewis, F.S.A., on Sandown Castle, now pulled down, it having been built about the same time as Walmer and Deal Castles, gave an additional interest to Walmer which we had just seen, and shows the attention paid to our national defences against an attack from without in the days of Henry VIII.

Wednesday was fixed for visiting the most westerly of the three ports, with its Roman road running in a straight line to Canterbury. And first we drove to Lyminge, not very far from the said road, where the rector of the parish, the Rev. Canon Jenkins, gave a full account of this early foundation by St. Ethelburga, shortened into Eadburgh, one of those holy ladies who strove by their example to disseminate the principles of the Christian religion, and did more by their influence, perhaps, to establish it than even the preaching of zealous bishops and confessors. She was daughter of King Ethelbert of Kent and sister of King Eadbald, who to reward her active life granted her a portion of the park and ville of Lyminge in 633. She died fourteen years afterwards, in 647. She had been betrothed and married to Edwin King of Northumbria, and a daughter, Eanfleda, was born in 626. Her tomb was in the north-east wall of the church under an arch. The learned rector has caused to be uncovered the foundation stones of a building contiguous to the present church, having a semi-circular apse formed of large masses of stone; he attributes this stone basement to the early church of St. Eadburg, or she may have adapted it from some earlier Roman building, the original uses of which cannot now be determined. The present church is built of Roman bricks or tiles, and its north-east porch rests against

the south wall of the older church, which is here based upon masses of ancient concrete. Canon Jenkins refers us to Goscellinus for the best account of the foundation.¹ Lyminge is mentioned in a charter of Oswyn, July 689, as containing a mine of iron,² and in one of Wihtried of Kent, 700 or 715,³ and a charter of his son Ethelbert of 20th February 732, refers to a fourth part of a plough land near the river Limene, suitable for manufacturing salt, and a hundred waggon-loads of wood are to be furnished annually for the works.⁴ It must have been a place of importance in Roman times, from the great number and variety of remains found here. In 844 Duke Oswulf bequeathed his remaining property to the four great Saxon foundations of Canterbury, Folkestone,⁵ Dover, and Lyminge.

In A.D. 965 it was attached to the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, and the archbishops up to the time of Archbishop Peckham resided occasionally at their manor house of Lyminge.

In 1114 Archbishop Ralph de Turbine grants a penny a day out of his manor of Lyminge to the hospital of Harble Down for ever, to supply milk to the lepers.

Petrus de Alby was one of the Savoyards of Archbishop Boniface collated to the rectories of Lyminge and Wrotham.

The pointed arches dividing nave from aisle in the present church were completed by Cardinal Bouchier in about 1480. Westenhanger House, once a castle of some extent, has now only remaining a portion of the curtain wall and two towers in ruins, one of which is popularly known as Fair Rosamond's Bower, and a fine piece of the old gateway. The moat can be traced which once surrounded the building. From hence, down the stone street as far as New Inn Green, where the road diverges westward to Studfall Castle, the Roman fort now ruined, which is well seen from the top of Lympe Castle, the intervening flat country having once been covered by the sea which here formed a haven. Land-slips have carried down large portions of the higher ground on which the Roman fort stood, and with it great masses of the masonry of the fort, which are still seen a long way from their original position when the fort guarded the entrance of the *Portus Lemani*, corrupted into Lympe. The remains are not so perfect as those at Richborough. From a coin of Edgar having been found here, it is conjectured that to the end of the tenth century at least, the fort had been made use of. The various opinions as to the topography of this country and the course of the old river Limene are given *in extenso*

¹ Description of Church of St. Mary and St. Eadburg, in Lyminge, by Robt. C. Jenkins, Rector and Vicar.

² Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, xxx.

³ *Ibid.*, xlvii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, lxxvii.

⁵ Eanswitha, daughter of King Eadbald, and niece of St. Eadburgh, had established a nunnery within the walls of the Castle of Folkestone, which is said by Tanner to be the earliest religious house for females established in Saxon England.

by Mr. C. Roach Smith in his work, which embraces the antiquities of this district.¹

Thursday and Friday were devoted to the centre from whence the three Roman roads radiated, the ancient *Durovernum*, afterwards Cant-warabyrig and Canterbury. The railway carried us up to its walls. We approached the old city from the opposite side to that by which the pilgrims from the interior came in from Harbledon Hospital;² but from our side also did many noble pilgrims approach it. King Richard, when, barefooted, he walked all the way from Sandwich on his return from the Holy Land, with the banner given him by the Emperor of Cyprus, which he dedicated to St. Edmund; King Lewis of France also crept in as a pilgrim, when he left the *regale*, a jewel of priceless worth, on the shrine of St. Thomas; King John also followed in the steps of his father and brother. The cone of the Dane John, replete with Danish recollections and historical conjectures, now greets us, surrounded by trimly laid out gardens which lead up to the walk upon the old city walls. These, which are 6 or 7 feet thick, once had seven gates and twenty-one towers, of which some of the latter remain; but of the former only one, the West Gate, built by Archbishop Sudbury to replace an older one. It does not seem decided whether the ancient palace of King Ethelbert, which he resigned to St. Augustine, stood on the site of the present Cathedral, or where St. Augustine's Abbey was afterwards built. The Queenengate stood almost opposite the grand gate-house of St. Augustine's Abbey, which latter still remains, and in good preservation. Through it we entered the quadrangle of St. Augustine's, surrounded by the buildings now used for a missionary college; and intermixed with the modern work are portions of the old walling of the Norman abbey. Some of the masonry may even have been earlier. The original church, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, was rededicated to St. Augustine by St. Dunstan in 978. Some of the Tudor brickwork of the palace of Henry VIII, into which the abbey was converted at the Reformation, also remains. The sites of the cloisters, church, and refectory, as well as of the guesten-hall, were pointed out and explained by the Rev. J. Orger, who gave a historical account of the foundation. One old Norman wall of the church still stands. St. Ethelbert's Tower was taken down in 1822.

The hospitality of the monks of old was continued in our favour by their present successors, the brethren and students of this well organised institution. In the large quadrangle tables were spread out on

¹ *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, by C. Roach Smith, F.S.A. London, 1850.

² The leaden tokens sold to pilgrims who desired some record of their pilgrimage are becoming very scarce. Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., has made a collection, engraved and described in *Arch. Cant.*, xiii, p. 111.

the grass, and under the shade of some lofty trees refreshments were distributed to the large party assembled.

From hence the site of the old cemetery of St. Augustine's was visited, which lined the old road leading from the city; and not far off we were gratified by the sight of the renowned old church of St. Martin, with its walls of early construction and mixed materials. A paper was here read by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, prepared by the Rev. Canon Routledge, to whom we are much indebted for the investigation of the antiquities of this parish. In the north wall, inside the church, are two closed-up arches; the one turned over by two ancient slabs of oölite, the other by Roman tiles. Here is the church where St. Bertha is said to have worshipped, and here the font in which her converted husband, Ethelbert, may have received baptism.¹ An old stone coffin is popularly assigned to Queen Bertha's remains, though the tradition cannot be traced very far back; and according to Thorn, a monk of St. Augustine's, of the fourteenth century, she and her husband were buried in the porch of St. Martin in St. Augustine's Abbey. The same Thorn speaks of a heathen altar on the west side of the church of St. Pancras, of which the ruins were seen near St. Martin's, where Ethelbert used, before conversion, to offer prayers and sacrifices to the heathen gods. Now, five hundred years after, Thorn's account seems to be confirmed by the uncovering of the basement of this old church; and on the west side is indeed seen an altar and the upper tiled floor of this old sanctuary, while another has been found at a lower level. A length of walling is exposed to view on the south, composed wholly of Roman tiles; and an arch of the same material, built at a later period, stands also upright. *In situ*, under another portion of an old wall, are the drum and base of a Roman column, which can be well seen.

What shall I say of the Cathedral precincts, the Palace, the Deanery, Cloisters, and Chapter House, the latter so carefully described by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock? Other various buildings and nooks and corners of old Canterbury were pointed out as we passed by Mr. John B. Hall and Mr. Cecil Brent, who did not omit to let us see the two Roman columns brought from Reculver, which are placed upright in the Deanery gardens. Could we have gone out of Canterbury a mile, we might have seen the church of Hackington,² where the Deans of Canterbury lived for three hundred years; but two days were not enough to see a city which is a museum of antiquities in itself.

Of the houses of Black Friars, of Grey Friars, and of Augustinian

¹ See *Archæol. Cant.*, xiv, p. 108 *et seqq.*; also Dean Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*.

² See *Rambles round old Canterbury*, by Francis W. Cross and John Hall. 1882.

Canons, few are the remains. In the island formed by two branches of the Stour was founded, by the first named of these, the house of which some portion was seen; and the wealth of the Dominicans may, perhaps, be estimated by the fact that the papal court imposed a fine upon them, in A.D. 1256, of six hundred marks, without even making inquiries as to their ability to pay, and fifty marks on their church of Dover.

Before making a few remarks on the grand Cathedral itself, our visit to the Guildhall should be mentioned, where the Mayor, George Beer, Esq., caused to be displayed not only the regalia of this ancient Corporation, which were commented on by Mr. Lambert, but also a most valuable collection of charters and seals, of which the main features of interest were pointed out by Mr. Walter de Gray Birch. One special feature in the seals was the portraiture of the Cathedral itself at different dates of its existence, and similar tests were applied by Mr. Birch to the seals of other cathedrals to which he referred.

The Cathedral was thoroughly described to us, in its history and development, by the Vice-Dean, the Ven. Archdeacon Harrison, and by the Hon. and Rev. Canon Freemantle and J. B. Sheppard, Esq., with Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock's commentary on its architecture. Few cathedrals, if any, for grandeur and completeness so satisfy the beholder as does Canterbury, attributable as much to the simplicity and elegance of its proportions, viewed from without, as to the harmonious blending of the different parts within, notwithstanding the many styles and periods in which it has been built; but the later architects had the skill to adapt their work to the ideas of their predecessors while preserving their own style in the restorations and additions. The foundation, like St. Augustine's, claims to date from King Ethelred. That a great building existed here when repaired by Archbishop Otho in 938 is certain, who continued the reparation during three years. Livingus and Ethelnoth also appear as rebuilders or restorers. I mention these names as they are so often omitted when the Cathedral building is spoken of; and if any portions of their work remain, we should like to hear of them.

William de Corbeuil, in 1114, in the reign of Henry I, has received the honour of dedicating a new church after another fire, several having previously occurred. Generation after generation strove to beautify it. William of Sens was for introducing the French style, distinguished by the peculiar foliation of the capitals and other characteristics; but the English William who succeeded him marked out a course for himself, and the chaste Early English style did not cease to prevail, because it was so good, and held its own in spite of foreign influences. The translation of Becket's remains, on 7th July 1220, from the crypt to his shrine at the back of the high altar, was an event

celebrated in this jubilee and many an one afterwards, and was proclaimed "*ab urbe in orbem.*" This event threw into the shade the previous history of Canterbury.

The screens of Prior Henry of Eastry and his beautiful roof to the choir greatly improved and heightened what was a noble choir before. The tomb popularly assigned to Archbishop Walter Reynolds, in the south aisle of the choir, is supposed by Mr. Matthew H. Bloxam to have been rather that of the said Prior Henry of Eastry, who died in 1331. The same learned antiquary would assign the stone coffin attributed usually to Archbishop Theobald to St. Dunstan himself, and says it may still contain his remains.

The rebuilding of the martyrdom, or north-west transept, under Archbishops Sudbury, Courtney, and Arundel, assisted by Prior Chillenden, helped to keep pace with the increasing popularity of the shrine of St. Thomas and demand for space. The central tower was heightened under Archbishops Morton and Warham. Archbishop Chicheley commenced the south-west tower, called St. Dunstan's, which was completed by Prior Chillenden. This Archbishop's monument in the choir is remarkable. The adviser of Henry V in his French wars, he was referred to by Archdeacon Harrison among the interesting historical episodes with which he illustrated the architectural descriptions. Archbishop Chicheley was the founder of All Souls College, Oxford, having, doubtless, a pious regard for the many he had sent prematurely to the other world. The chantry and tomb of Henry IV, at the north of Trinity Chapel, is no less interesting than that of the Black Prince, with his arms and accoutrements, on the south side.

The beautiful coloured glass windows of the thirteenth century, in the north aisle of the choir, at the north-east of Trinity Chapel, and in the central window of Becket's Crown, were deservedly admired for their brilliancy and effect. The crypt, which underlies the whole Cathedral, and bears up the pillars thereof, will be "a joy for ever" as long as England shall stand. Its massive pillars, its mazy avenues, its old associations, and the speculative theories to which its construction has given rise, can only be adverted to in passing. The Chapel of St. Gabriel, covered with early paintings, and only brought to light of late years, after being bricked up and unnoticed for centuries, appeals to the imagination as much as the haunts of the French Huguenots who found here an asylum, and had a portion of the crypt allotted to them for religious Services.¹

The tomb of St. Dunstan was once here in a deep vault, wherein was also enclosed the head of St. Fursius. A lofty pyramid marked the resting place of the Saint. It may be wondered how the tomb of

¹ See the history of the crypt and St. Gabriel's Chapel in *Archæol. Cant.*, xiii, by Canon Scott Robertson, M.A., F.S.A.

Isabel, Countess of Athol, should be in the crypt among these ancient Saints, but she was daughter of Richard de Chilham, natural son of King John, and died a Chilham in February 1292.

Neither our time at the Congress, nor my space here, would permit due reference to be made to the many hospitals of mediæval times, churches, hostelries, and the various nooks and corners of Old Canterbury.¹ The Norman porch and staircase leading up to what is now the King's School, is as good a specimen as can be found of the skill and taste of architects of the time. The churches, however, of St. Mildred and St. Dunstan must be noted; the former containing fragments of Roman tiles built into the walls, and the two quoins of the south wall being constructed of the oolitic stone known to have been used by the Romans and brought from a distance: the latter church, outside the west-gate, is remarkable as the spot from whence King Henry II set off to walk bare-footed to the shrine of St. Thomas, in performance of his penance. The head of Sir Thomas More used to be shown in this church, who was decapitated on Tower Hill, and was interred in the tomb of his loving daughter, Margaret Roper. The churches of Barfreston, not far from the Dover and Canterbury road, and St. Margaret of Cliffe, on the prominence of the South Foreland near Dover, are two gems of Late Norman architecture of the most ornate type. At the latter, the Rev. E. C. Lucey, M.A., entertained some of the party on the lawn of his delightful Vicarage, after reading a paper in which many curious particulars were given relative to the parish, including a recital of a donation of money by will to pay for ringing the curfew bell periodically, to warn others against falling over the cliff, a danger to which the donor himself fell a victim. A gold British coin found at Pegwell Bay was exhibited, as well as other relics of antiquity. Some portions of the mouldings, corbels, and arches of these two churches have been faithfully copied by the Rev. T. S. Curteis of Seven Oaks, and are figured on Plate 2.

The church of Coldred, visited after Barfreston, on the road to Dover by Waldershare Park, was interesting for its position within the area of a Roman fortification with fosse and vallum, covering about two acres, and at north-east corner within the camp is a mound, recalling that at Wodnesborough near Sandwich. The church has a bell gable for two bells, rather uncommon in England. It is difficult to say whether this parish derives its name from Ceolred, King of Mercia, any more than the neighbouring Shepherd's Well from Sibert's Wold, both these derivations having been suggested. Within the Roman camp is a very deep well, supposed to be of Roman origin. The antiquities of the place were carefully gone into by the rector, the Rev. Irvine Wimberley, M.A.

¹ See *Canterbury in the Olden Time*, by John Brent, F.S.A.

The evening meetings at the Guildhall were well attended throughout, winding up by one at which an interesting paper was read by S. W. Kershaw, Esq., F.S.A., Librarian of Lambeth Palace, on "Foreign Refugee Settlements in Kent." We had another from George Lambert, Esq., F.S.A., on the "Life of St. Dunstan", and one by George Wright, Esq., F.S.A., on occasion of the production of maps and plans of town and harbour, lent by J. Stilwell, Esq., Registrar of the Harbour, and with reference to the great works of Henry VIII here, as well as to his embarkation, with all the panoply of war, on his French expedition.

Besides the papers already referred to, that by Sir James Picton, F.S.A., on the "Ethnology and Nomenclature of Kent", excited a lively interest and discussion, and Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., gave us another on a kindred subject. H. Syer-Cuming, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., sent a paper which was read, "On the Samphire Plant", which leads me to speak of the fact that Shakespeare with his company performed at Dover on 3rd September 1597, at which time, perhaps, the idea may have struck him of the scene in *King Lear* on the cliff, which the play has immortalised in connection with the poet's name. It would be curious if evidence could be found of the company having crossed over to Calais from Dover and "acted" at the former place. I am indebted for these suggestions to our living biographer of the great poet, whom nothing ever escapes which can in any way bear upon his memory.¹

The week was closed by a *conversazione* in the Guildhall, given by the Deputy-Mayor, T. V. Brown, Esq., J.P., and our proceedings were brought to a close after taking leave of our kind friends at Dover, and thanking the Mayor and Corporation (the Mayor being in the chair) for the use of their hall during the week, and for the great hospitality which had been shown us.

A welcome day of rest intervened before embarking upon a three days' excursion to France, a supplement to the congress; and early on Monday morning the Channel was crossed, and rather a large party, under the guidance of Mr. John Reynolds, proceeded by railway from Calais to Abbeville, where we made for the church of St. Wulfran with its gorgeous western face in the Flamboyant style, with three portals elaborately carved and adorned with statues. It is flanked by two towers, and was begun in 1488, before the eastern portion of the church, which, through impaired resources, was carried out in an inferior style, and will need much rebuilding to render the whole in keeping with its western front. The neighbouring Abbey of St.

¹ *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, by J. O. Halliwell-Philipp, LL.D., etc., 3rd edition, 1883, p. 116.

Riquier once had Cardinal Richelieu for Abbot, and in his time Abbeville was a parish attached to his abbey.¹

Several old timbered houses with carved corbels and barge boards met our eye; one showing a fine newel staircase of timber, in which Francis I is said to have stayed. The museum of M. Boucher de Perthes was kindly thrown open at hours when closed to the public, by the politeness of the Director, who explained what was to be seen there. The most important part of the collection is that of the flint implements found in the drift of the valley of the Somme, the scene of M. de Perthes' geological labours, who spent a life in collecting them, and then bequeathed the museum to his native town. His published works show how much we are indebted to him for original thought on prehistoric remains. Pursuing our route to Amiens, we passed Picquigny near the Roman camp of Tiran-court. This town is famous for the treaty known by its name, made in 1475 between our Edward IV and Louis XI of France.

Soon we were comfortably lodged at the hotel de l'Univers, Amiens, close to the Place St. Denis, a public garden over which presides a fine bronze statue of a learned citizen dear to archæologists—Ducange, the author of the glossary, *Mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*.² This city, the Samarobriva of Roman times, capital of the Ambiani, whence its modern name, since the time of Julius Cæsar has never lost its importance as capital of the province of Picardy. After his second fruitless expedition to Britain he here summoned an assembly of the tribes, and how many treaties have been signed here since, down to the last peace of Amiens concluded in 1802 in the Hotel de Ville!

The brick and stone-built fort to the north of the town, dating from Henry IV of France, of pentagonal form, is still in use as a barrack, and from hence is obtained a good bird's-eye view of Amiens. The boulevards of the city are fine; the streets in the new part of the town cleanly and well cared for, having fine private houses and public buildings. One of these, erected for a museum, is a good specimen of the architecture of the time of Napoleon III, with its noble portico, spacious halls, staircase, and *parquet* floors. The walls, painted with much variety of subject, fairly represent the modern French school, and the rooms contain a large collection of paintings. The antiquities also commanded attention, and for these I must refer to the printed catalogue. The town is indebted for this museum to the exertions of the Société des Antiquaires de Picardie.

The public library contains over 50,000 volumes of printed books, and 500 MSS., of which a catalogue by M. J. Garnier, the librarian, was published in 1843.

¹ Murray's *Handbook for France*, Part I, 1879.

² For many other celebrities born at Amiens, see the excellent *Guide de l'Etranger*, par H. Calland, with notes by A. Dubois.

The churches of St. Germain and of St. Leu were visited, and the town belfry, dating, as to its basement, from the fourteenth century.

The tortuous streets of the old town, abutting upon the various branches of the river Somme, combine to give a special interest to Amiens; but its grand monument of the thirteenth century is the Cathedral of Notre-Dame (formerly Christ Church), which, after our recent visit to Canterbury, may be a fair subject of comparison with our own cathedral.¹ The dedication was originally to "Christ the Saviour", and accordingly at the western door, under its gabled canopy, stands the figure of Christ raised upon a lofty pedestal and cut from one stone, "le beau Dieu d'Amiens", a good example of the sculpture of the thirteenth century. The western front is divided into three porches, of which the central is the most prominent, and is devoted to the figure, above referred to, of Christ, the chief cornerstone of the Church, built up also on the prophets of the Old Testament and the apostles of the New. Accordingly, twelve figures of the latter are arranged in a row, six on each side of the principal figure, and outside these six of the major prophets, three on each side, while below in a row stand the twelve minor prophets, and below these again are two rows of medallions, each being a picture carved in stone of the virtues and contrary vices attributed to the holy men who stand in rows above them. Christ tramples under foot the "asp and the basilisk", and in the tympanum behind is an elaborate representation of the Last Judgment. A flowing border of roses and lilies completes the allusions in this noble work of art. The other two porches are dedicated, that to the left of the observer, to St. Firmin, the first Christian martyr, claimed by the church as its founder. The sculptures are as elaborate as in the central porch, and represent passages from the legendary life of the Saint. The medallions carved below the many figures represent the twelve signs of the zodiac, the four seasons, and the twelve months of the year. The right-hand porch is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, shewing her Life and Assumption; Adam and Eve, their creation and fall; the figures to the right and left of the principal one are the wise and foolish virgins of the parable.

If the figure of Christ in stone is a good specimen of the sculpture of the thirteenth century, so within the building are two excellent examples of founding in bronze of the same period. Two flat bronze slabs with their effigies, life-size, cover the tombs of the two bishops in whose episcopates the church was built; that is, Evrard de Fouilloy, who laid the first stone in A.D. 1220, a prelate whose energetic character is described in the last line of his epitaph, *Mitibus agnus erat, tumidis*

¹ See *The Bible of Amiens*, Part I, "Interpretations", chap. iv, by John Ruskin, LL.D.

leo, lima superbis, and Geoffroy d'Eu, who died in 1237. The wood-work of the stalls in choir is a marvel of skill and perseverance, being carved with innumerable scenes from the Holy Scriptures. Perhaps the finest view of the interior is obtained by entering at the south-west door. Here is seen to advantage the prodigious height of the nave, which rises 140 feet from the pavement to the key-stone of the vault, and some of our party went up to the summit of this to obtain some idea of the elevation. The corresponding height of the nave of Canterbury is only 80 feet. In length, however, our own cathedral has the advantage of about 80 feet, and more than this, because the great height of Amiens Cathedral takes away from its apparent length; whereas at Canterbury, on the contrary, the eye embraces at the same time both height and length, and can thus form a juster estimate of their proportions.

The carvings in *alto relievo*, painted in colour on the exterior of the north and south walls of choir, are curious as illustrating the costumes of the sixteenth century, though the colouring is a modern restoration, and not perhaps always in accordance with the original. The scenes represented on the south wall are from the life of St. Firmin and St. Saulve, divided into eight compartments, with Gothic inscriptions under each. Those on the north wall describe in this picture form the life of John the Baptist, with letterings also under each scene. Canterbury has its St. Fursius, and was also dedicated to Christ the Saviour, and the work in it of our English William, the architect, was of the same period as that at Amiens. The flèche, or spire, built of wood in 1529 is a wondrous piece of carpentry work, and replaced the original steeple, which had fallen two years previously from damage caused by lightning. There are two doors on the south side of the church; that of St. Christopher, so called from a gigantic figure of that Saint, rudely carved on the wall, and another to the eastward, formerly dedicated to St. Honoré, but latterly to the Blessed Virgin, whose gilt statue adorns the pilaster in the centre. The two western towers are of the height of 200 and 182 feet.

The two western towers of Canterbury rise only to 130 feet, and the central tower only reaches 235 feet, while the summit of Amiens spire attains an altitude of 422 feet.

The busy manufacturers at Amiens, Abbeville, and St. Pierre, near Calais, remind us of those worthy citizens and manufacturers of France who, expatriated for their religious opinions, formed permanent settlements in England, and contributed much by their skill and industry to improve our native manufactures.

In returning homewards we paid a visit to the town of Calais. M. Hobacq kindly acting as interpreter, and Mr. Ern. le Jeune¹

¹ Author of an exhaustive *Histoire de Calais* (from inedited documents) by Ern. Le Jeune, Membre de la Société d'Archéologie. 2 vols., 4to. Calais, 1880.

obligingly came forward as *eicerone*, and conducted us inside the church of St. Mary, the history of which he had to relate rather, as he said, from the evidence of the architecture than from written documents. He considered the original church, built towards the end of the twelfth century, to be represented by the five western bays, and the river then washed its western walls. Some of the pillars being octagonal, these could hardly be referred further back than 1250. It seems to have been extended in the fourteenth century to near the entry of the choir, indicated by the alteration in the piers. The nave side aisles are quite plain and have no lateral chapels. The choir, occupying four bays, together with two transepts which at their intersection supported the central tower, were added in the fifteenth century; and, lastly, the Lady Chapel, in form of an elliptical apse, was added in 1631.

The entrance, which used to be by the door of St. Pierre, in the north transept, is now through the western portal, opened since the diversion of the course of the river. A reredos of many coloured marbles, and good execution, adorns the high altar, and forms a frame to a fine picture of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin by G. Seghers.

M. Le Jeune kindly invited us to his house, and his father explained to us, in English, the specimens of flint and stone implements, of which he has a large collection, from the Valley of the Somme. Then we were shown the Staple Hall, at the end of a street of that name, which bore the escutcheons, carved in stone, of the merchants of the Staple at the time of the English possession. These were afterwards altered for those of subsequent owners. An archway, forming the entrance, alone remains, and the old walls of houses in the Quadrangle, with some of the brick chimneys of the Tudor period. The wool monopoly established here by Edward III grew to such importance that the city dues amounted to 50,000 crowns a year—a large sum for those days; and the Company grew so important as to be able to make loans of money to the Crown. The importance of the herring-fishery is shown by the large quantity of this fish to be contributed by the town, for rent, to the Monastery of St. Bertin; but not during the English occupation. The Corporation was presided over by a mayor and a committee of one hundred persons, protected by two hundred archers. Henry II of France and his Queen occupied the building at the reconquest in 1558, and the King gave it up to the Duc de Guise as a reward for the capture of the town.

A belfry-tower, said to be of the ninth century, is characteristic of these old towns of France. We saw another such at Amiens. The house is shown of Eustace de St. Pierre, where the citizen of that name lived in the time of our Edward III, when the surrender of the town

placed it under the dominion of England for two hundred and ten years. Here we dispersed, after terminating a most successful Congress.

Rev. Preb. Sir Talbot Baker, Mr. Wright, and Mr. Compton, took part in the discussion.

Mr. C. H. Compton read a paper on "Brambletye House", near the northern boundary of Sussex. The Chairman and Rev. Preb. Sir Talbot Baker took part in the discussion which ensued.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

Anglo-Saxon Antiquities at Taplow.—The fine tumulus or mound, which has occupied a conspicuous site in the old churchyard at Taplow Court, has lately been opened, and yielded a remarkable discovery. On its crest stands a solitary yew, which has stood the wear of many centuries. Remains of an earthwork surround portions of the hill on which the tumulus stands, and flint flakes are abundant in the soil of the hill, suggesting that the place has been one of very early occupation. It is to the energy and perseverance of Mr. Rutland, Hon. Secretary of the Berks Archæological and Architectural Society, who has borne the whole of the expense, that we are indebted for the exploration of the mound. With the permission of the rector (the Rev. Charles Whately, M.A.), and with the consent of Mr. W. H. Grenfell, the work was commenced by Mr. Rutland, under the inspection of Major Cooper King, Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., and Dr. Stevens, all well-known antiquarians. Three successive shafts were sunk, and the contents consisted of gravel intermingled with earth, with rude flint implements, pieces of Romano-British pottery, scraps of charcoal, crackled stones, a few splinters of bones, which had been wrought into awls or borers, and occasional bones of animals which had been used for food. The digging was carried down to a depth of twenty feet, when a quantity of gold fringe came to light, and announced that a burial of importance might be expected. This was shortly followed by the finding of a male interment of the Saxon period. It is not

easy to determine the position of articles buried with the dead, or of the relative position of all parts of the body, after lengthened interment; but it appeared that the body had been placed on its back with the head lying eastward. A circular shield of wood, cased with bronze, of two feet diameter, rested on the lap. It had probably been lined with leather, a few scraps of that material being found. On the shield lay two drinking horns, shaped somewhat like the early feudal horn, which could be filled only when held in the hand. They were lipped with gilt silver, and the terminals were of gilded silver, elegantly mitred and figured. Two mitred-shaped armlets of ornamented gilt silver were also found on the shield; and alongside were two broken sage-green glass vessels, the one decorated with raised lines, the other bearing tear-like ornaments. A third somewhat similar glass vessel was found near the head. West of the shield, and flattened, was a circular tub, of one foot diameter, usually called a bucket, of staves of wood cased with thin bronze, and stamped with the peculiar pagan design, the horseshoe. The usual warlike weapons lay alongside the dead; but the javelin was barbed, and differed in its position from the usual method of placing the long spear, its point being placed from, instead of towards, the head, suggesting perhaps the direction of its flight. Portions of what appeared to be a *seax* or knife lay on the right; and a heavy two-edged sword had evidently rested on the left, a large portion of which was recovered. The wood scabbard was barely traceable in its decay. As the gold fringe was spread in strips about the grave it is pretty clear that it formed a frilling to the mantle of the deceased. Some shreds of the gold fibre when unravelled were found to be of the length of ten inches.

Of other ornaments of a costly form, three have been found, the finest of these being that which had evidently fastened the mantle at the throat or shoulder. It was a brooch-buckle, lying at three feet from the centre of the shield in the direction of the head. This would be sufficiently high up to allow the inference that the wearer was of considerable stature. Its weight is four ounces and its length four inches, and it is of pure gold, and is chastely wrought and neatly jewelled. The other two buckles were found somewhat on the left of the line of the body, attached to the under surface of some rotten wood, which had apparently formed part of a plank which had been placed across the body. Being at the centre, there is no doubt they formed fastenings to the girdle. To these must be added two bracelets of gilt silver with woollen material in the rims, showing that they had been fastened to the sleeves. Some other objects in bronze were found about the shield, but nothing bearing the character of a helmet. It is impossible to assign any exact period to the interment, but the

profuse ornamentation points to what is called the Middle Iron Period of Sweden, a time when gold ornaments in the north were exceedingly abundant. This period comprehends the time between A.D. 450 and A.D. 700. The interment may, however, be later. Taking into consideration the Pagan character of the relics, the size of the barrow, and the profuseness of the ornamentation, the interment is probably early; and as Buckinghamshire formed part of the kingdom of Mercia, it may be suggested that the grave is that of a person of distinction among the Mercians, who was interred with all the honours of a great chief. These objects are now deposited in the British Museum where they may be inspected.

Retrospections, Social and Archæological, vol. i. By CHARLES ROACH SMITH, F.S.A. (G. Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden).—In drawing the notice of the archæologists of the present day to this charming and interesting volume of *Retrospections*, just published by Mr. Roach Smith, which is so full of subjects so interesting to the antiquarian world, and which refreshes the memory with the names of so many illustrious antiquaries who have now passed away, and the interesting account of Mr. Roach Smith's early life in London, which all Mr. Roach Smith's friends have, I am sure, read with much interest, I would draw special attention to the following extracts which mark the value of the volume.

Page 2 contains an account of a discovery of Roman coins in the sandhills, near Deal, which is not only interesting in itself from the peculiar nature of the locality, and from its historical bearings hitherto unnoticed; but because it is of the same character as other hoards, of which the author admits he did not at the time see the full interest. He has now supplied the omission, and we may refer to his treatment of the hoard of Roman coins found in the summer of the present year in Cobham Park, in the fifteenth vol. of the *Archæologia Cantiana*. As he remarks, the finding of buried hoards of Roman coins from times immemorial, is a well-known fact, but not generally considered in its historical signification as it deserves to be. In our own time, and in the last two centuries, records of discoveries of Roman coins are very numerous, though seldom satisfactory in previous years; it is tantalizing to read the bare fact of the discoveries only, as if science and curiosity were satisfied and cared to make no further inquiry. The Deal hoard Mr. Roach Smith assigns to the time just previous to the recovery of Britain from Tetricus by Aurelian; the Cobham hoard to A.D. 353, a little anterior to the overthrow of Magnentius by Constantius.

The sandhills, or *dunes*, between Sandwich and Deal are commented on and compared with those on the opposite coast of France; and Mr. Dowker is mentioned as an ally in investigating the changes which

have taken place here and in the river valleys since the Roman occupation; and this subject, further on, is resumed in respect to the Upchurch Marshes and the fatal inundations of the Medway at Strood.

The criticism on Mr. Bateman's discoveries in Derbyshire involves some corrections, explanations, and comparisons important to the archæologist.

Bittern, the Clausentum of the Romans, although previously written on by Mr. Roach Smith, receives some novel suggestions on the inscription to Tetricus and the goddess Ancasta, and on the coins found in the *castrum*.

Under the heading "Henry Hatcher" will be found remarks on the Roman roads in Hampshire; and for invocation of further investigation the following passage may be quoted, including the author's views of the teaching of the Itinerary of Antoninus, which is worthy of consideration. "Mr. Hatcher, in defiance of a host of hostile authorities, very clearly proves that Silchester represents Calleva, and yet he does not adduce the peculiar evidence which to me, very obvious and conclusive, has been and yet is strangely overlooked. It is this. Every station which heads and every station which terminates an *iter*, was walled. Of these walled stations, often towns or cities, there are yet remains in stone masonry. I know of no exception; and the reason is palpable why they should have been walled and important places. Not only do distances point to Silchester as Calleva, but there is no other fortification anywhere in the locality to which it can be referred. As for Vindomis or Vindomun, its being classed by Richard of Cirencester as a stipendary tour is one of the strong arguments against the authenticity of the work bearing his name, published by Stukeley and translated by Hatcher; Hatcher locates Vindomun correctly. It was a subordinate station, and recent excavations made by the Rev. E. Kell, Mr. C. Lockhart, and others, most satisfactorily show that it was a large resting-place, a spacious inn or caravansary, like that of Thesie in France. It is doubtful if even a *mutatio* was needed in the short road from Winchester to Bittern. The *Ad Lapidem*, introduced in the *iter* of Richard of Cirencester, must, I fear, be one of the suspicious evidences, and taken from Beda, who merely gives it as the name of a place, now Stoneham, to which, over what must have been the Roman road, I used, when a boy, to walk on a half-holiday from my school at Swathling. There is, however, South as well as North Stoneham, and *Ad Lapidem* may have been either. Although the criticisms of the Hon. Algernon Herbert, the Rev. Beale Poste, and others, have prevailed against Richard of Cirencester, yet Hatcher's translation contains in the notes much useful information." Roman villas in Hampshire receive brief but suggestive observations, and they include the author's views on the newly dis-

covered remains in the Isle of Wight. This subject, *en passant*, is further discussed in the *Archæologia Cantiana*. The dog-headed man in one of the Morton pavements, which has received so many interpretations, Mr. Roach Smith considers to be a caricature of Anubis; and in the seated figure with column and globe, he sees Pythagoras, and cites the representation on the coins of Samos.

Caerwent and Caerleon, the one remarkable for inscriptions, the other for their absence, are touched on. They are treated elaborately in the *Journal* of the Association,¹ from a visit by Mr. Roach Smith immediately after the Worcester Congress. The Roman remains of Chester, explored by him during the Chester Congress, are referred to; and attention is drawn especially to the remarks on the stones used in the reparations of the town wall, as having been quarried near the town; while the Romans, rejecting this from its inferior quality, selected a durable stone from Hilsby Hill, some seven miles distant, and from Peckferton. As this has recently been called in question by Mr. Shrubsole, quoted by Dr. Hodgkin, it would be interesting to know what the objections are, and to what Mr. Shrubsole's local knowledge may tend, for it is unlikely that Mr. Roach Smith would have advanced his views so decisively without the support of reliable local knowledge. The cornice, a remarkable feature in the wall,² is also doubted by Mr. Shrubsole as being of Roman origin; but it may be asked, who but the Romans would have cared to place it there?

Sub voce "Charles Warne" will be found remarks on the Celtic and Roman remains of Dorsetshire, worth attention as regards Mr. Durden's wonderful collections at Blandford, as well as Mr. Warne's at Brighton. The new Museum at Dorchester happily supplies a proper resting-place; and we may hope they will not be forced to leave the county, like Mr. George Payne's valuable local antiquities, which as a gift have been rejected by the town of Sittingbourn, in the district of which they were all discovered.

Roman London receives its share of attention in relation to recent discoveries, as the following extract shows: "The recent discovery of leaden *ossuaria* on the premises of Messrs. Tyler, near Newgate Street; former discoveries in Moorgate Street; Bishopsgate Within; and that in Bow Lane, of a skeleton with a coin of Domitian in its mouth; point, without doubt, to a period anterior to the erection of the City Wall, commonly known as London Wall. The extensive building with rich tessellated pavements, which was cut through in Paternoster Row, may have been a suburban villa subsequently enclosed."

In a subsidiary point of view, the history of the British Archæological Association will be found interwoven, and much in conflict with

¹ Vol. xiii.

² See *Journal*, vol. xiii, p. 70; *Coll. Ant.*, vol. vi.

that of our friend Mr. Albert Hartshorn, printed in *The Dover Chronicle* subsequently to our late Congress in that town. The Rev. L. B. Larking was founder of the Kent Society. Mr. Bish Well proposed that it should be united with that of Surrey; but Mr. Larking energetically opposed the proposal, and Kent has no reason to repent of his sound judgment. Mr. Clement Taylor Smythe had formed a scheme some few years before; but it never came to birth, though it was quite feasible, and likely to succeed. Connected with this part of the work are memoirs of our old colleagues, T. Wright and Planché. Of the former there is something quite new as to his early life; of the latter, much in relation with the author, novel and somewhat romantic.

As at the present time there is great excitement in making excavations in the subterranean cave-pits at Tilbury and its neighbourhood, and at Sidcup, and as circulars are issued to raise a large sum of money for this purpose, from what has transpired in the local papers it would appear that the promoters of this scheme were extremely ignorant of what Mr. Roach Smith had written on this subject in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi, and they protest against his simple explanation. He, however, retains his view of them, saying, "Before I printed my conviction on the character of the chalk wells opening into chambers, clearly described by Pliny the naturalist, I mentioned the subject to Mr. Bland as we were walking in his fields, and I quoted Pliny. He at once confirmed my opinion as correct, and added that if chalk were wanted on any part of his farm, remote from an open chalk-pit, he would sink a well, and make cuttings precisely in the ancient manner."

I have not exhausted the points of archæological interest in volume i of these *Retrospections*, but I hope I have suggested enough to recommend the work to the attention of the members of the Association.

C. B.

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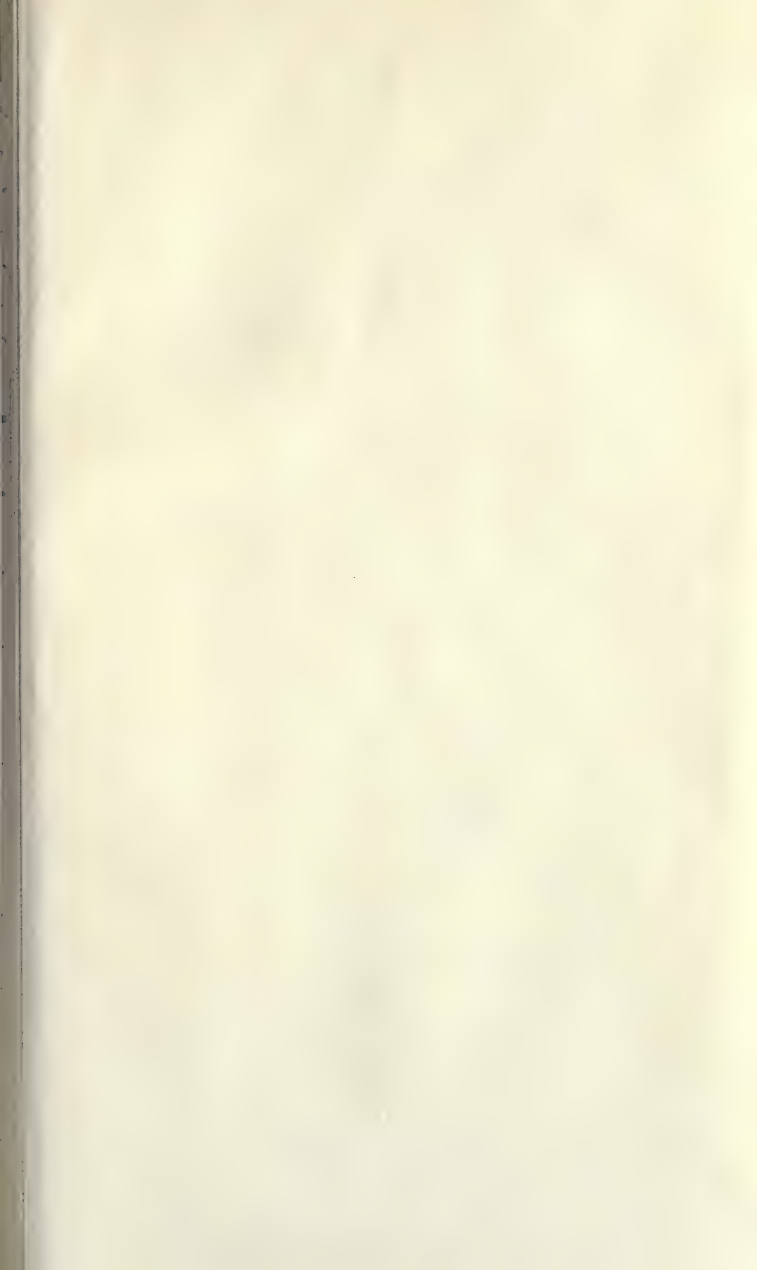
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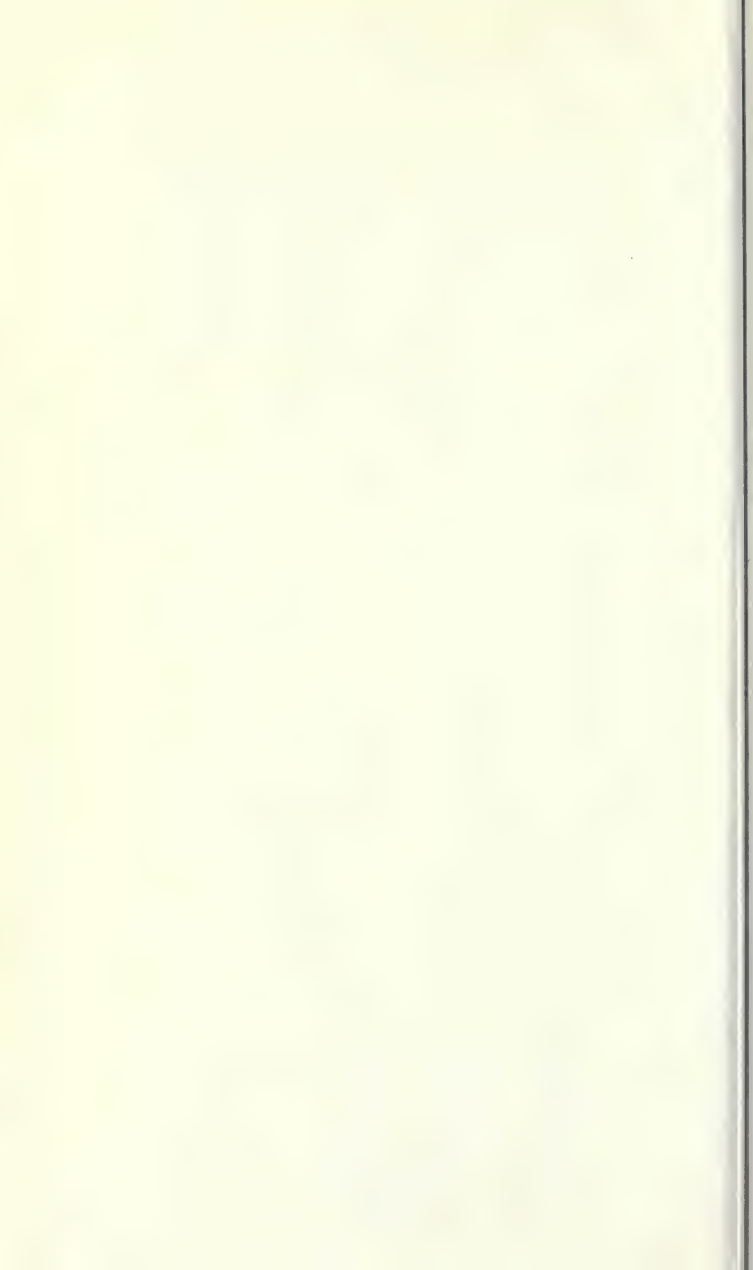
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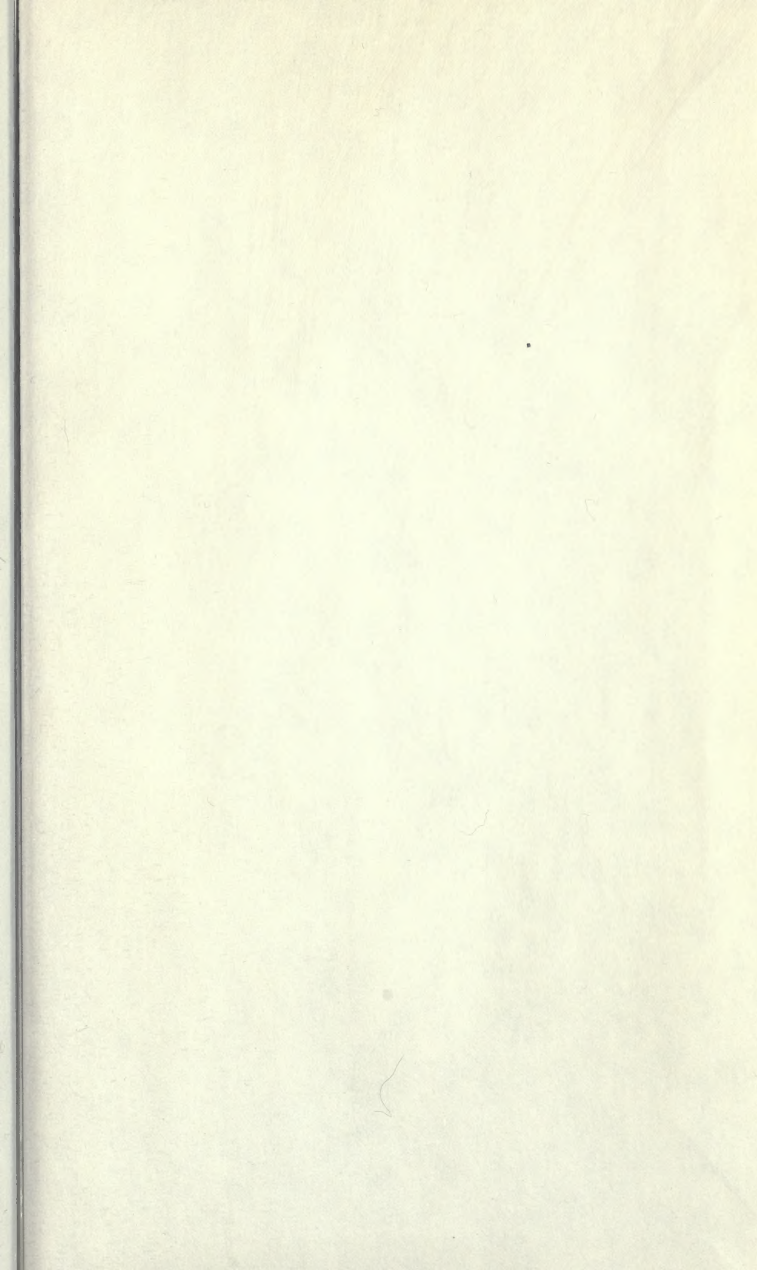
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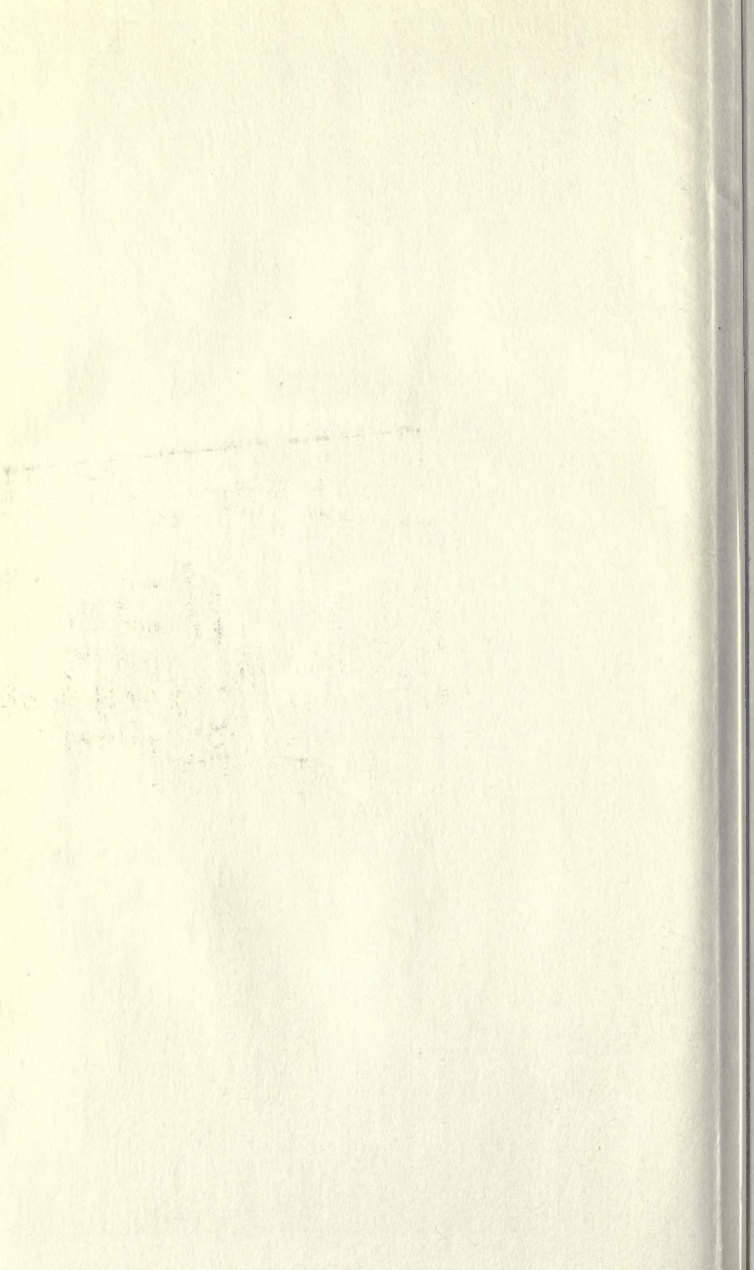
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